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JUNE 1988

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OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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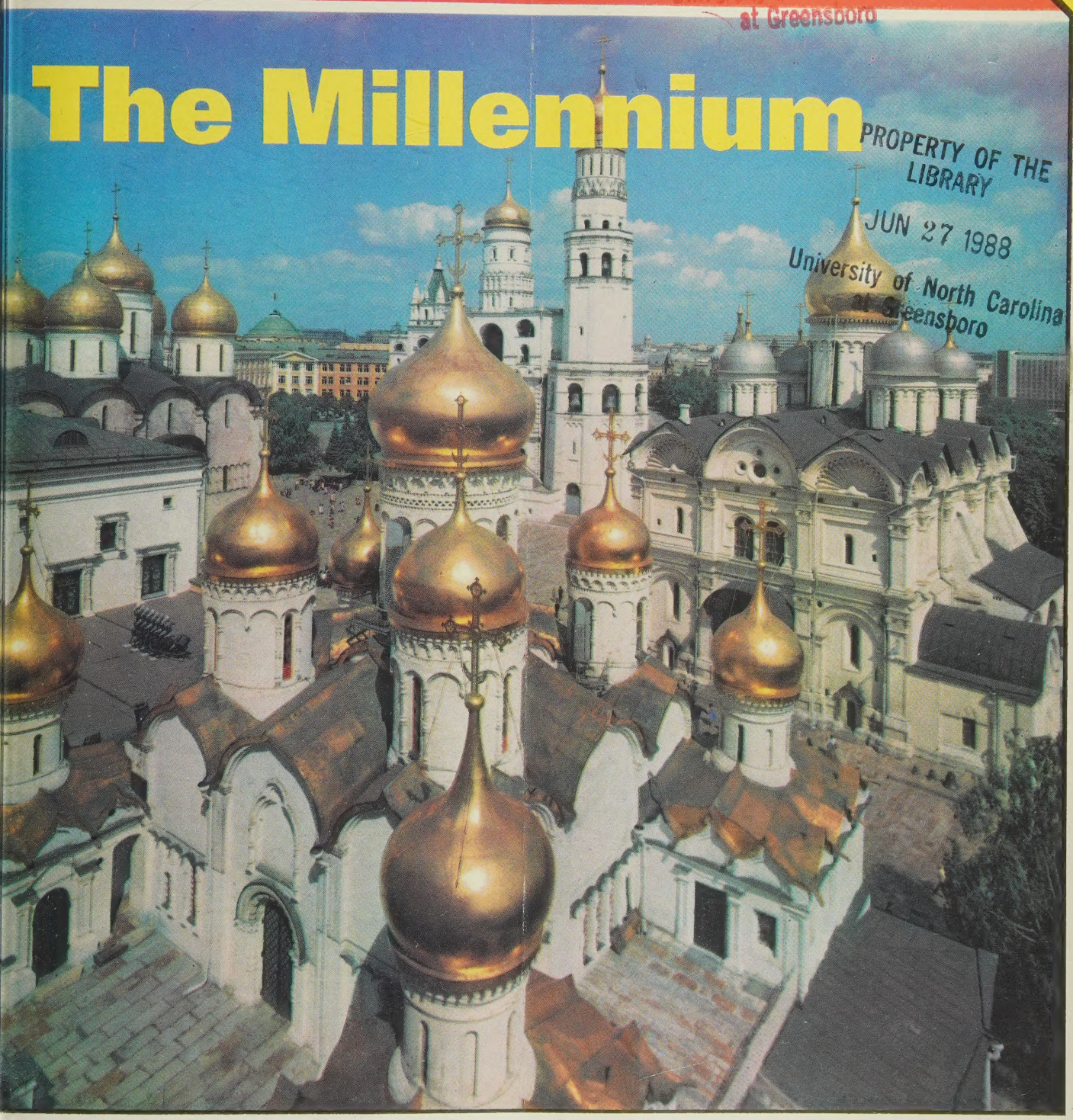

The Millennium

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AN EPILOGUE TO THE SUMMIT

Drawing by Roland Topor (France)

NEW TIMES

No. 24, June 1988

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45

Georgy Arbatov, Vadim Zagladin, Gennady Gerasimov are now big names in journalism and politics. Whatever their "success stories" are, all of them have one thing in common: they have worked for New Times in various periods. Today they reappear on our pages to share their reminiscences on the occasion of the magazine's 45th anniversary.

CONTENTS:

2
Glasnost

4
Highlight of the week

5
The summit
Alexander Pumpyansky
SLAYING THE DRAGONS

7
Citizen diplomacy
Sergei Golyakov
SYNCHRONIZING OUR WATCHES

8
Exclusive for New Times
THE PENTAGON CHIEF CARLUCCI INTERVIEWED IN MOSCOW

11
Expert's opinion
Vladimir Nazarenko
THE TOMAHAWKS IN START'S WAY

13
A press conference
Academician Andrei Sakharov
"A TRUSTWORTHY POLICY"

15
Afghanistan
Rais Tuzmukhamedov
PACTA SERVANDA SUNT

16
Cuba
Alexander Alexeyev
CHE

17
Pakistan
Sergei Irodov
THE MILITARY AT IT AGAIN

18
Singapore
Sergei Svirin
WHO IS TO LEARN FROM WHOM?

20
Religion
Olga Bai
THE CHURCH'S SECULAR CONCERNS

21
U.S.S.R.: perestroika and democracy
THE SEPARATION OF POWERS

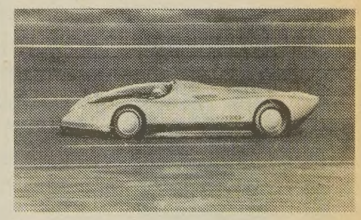
24
U.S.S.R.: perestroika and democracy
Yuri Shevchenko
HOW PERESTROIKA REACHED SAKHALIN

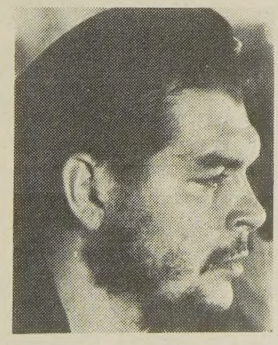
26
Observer's view
Lev Bezymensky
WE ARE FORTY-FIVE

27
PERSONALITIES

30
The way of life
Yuri Kosinsky
THE 21st-CENTURY CAR

32
Joint ventures
Tatiana Chernova
AEROFLOT EARNS HARD CURRENCY





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OPINIONS

Anna M. Morris
Onalaska, U.S.A.

■ My congratulations to Mr Gorbachev on being Time magazine "Man of the Year." My wish is that he should come to visit this country again and meet with the laborers of our farms and factories.

Last May I had the opportunity to visit Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi and Yerevan. There were 32 people in our group and we were well received by all the people we met at Friendship Houses, as well as the people we met on the streets and in your lovely parks.

Since my return, I have spoken to over 400 people about my visit. Everyone is so receptive and full of questions, especially, the kids (11-12 years old).

My wish is that some of the people that we met and were so nice to us could come to visit our homes. I live close to the Mississippi River and a couple of years ago there was an opportunity when people from the U.S.S.R. were on a peace cruise on the river.

While in Leningrad, I was privileged to be invited to a TV presentation on alcoholism. I work with adult alcoholics. I'm happy to hear that our two countries are working together on this huge social problem. My husband was an alcoholic and I know how the family suffers due to someone's drinking. I only hope that the families are getting some help too.

Thank all Soviet people for the hospitality while we were in the U.S.S.R. and I hope to visit again.

Robert Streibel
Vienna, Austria

■ It was with great interest that I read the article "Tribute to the War Dead" *(No. 13/88)* about the fates of Soviet people and soldiers who survived German prison camps. Not far from my home town, Krems an der Donau, one of the biggest concentration camps was situated on the territory of the former Ostmark, as the fascists called Austria at the time. As a historian, I specialize on the subject of war, and one section of my research deals with prisoners at the Stalag 17B concentration camp (Gneixendorf). I correspond with some of the prisoners of war – Poles, Belgians and Americans. And former POWs and people living nearby have told me that the Soviet prisoners were the worst treated of all. Thousands of Soviet people in rags and barefoot were herded into the camps. Their food consisted of watery soup that did not deserve the name with a few cabbage leaves. The dead and exhausted were thrown into a pit. The woods where the victims of these crimes were buried is known among the people to this day as the "Russian woods."

Through the good offices of New Times, I would like to get in touch with former POWs from this camp. Perhaps some readers lost members of their families there or were there themselves?

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Sergei Iskhanov
engineer-technologist,
24 years old,
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ The Motions for the 19th Party Conference have been published and are now being widely discussed.

In my opinion it is very important to do everything possible to ensure that the process of democratization becomes irreversible. To this end, a law-protecting glasnost must be adopted. Democratization would be intensified further if the system of electing the General Secretary of the CPSU were changed – he should be elected by universal secret ballot on the basis of an election programme that he puts forward. If there are several candidates (and that undoubtedly would be better), then debates between them should be published in the press. I would like the conference to discuss the question of holding regular national referendums, national discussions on the most important problems of our life.

I suggest the setting up of new organizations: "Public figures for perestroika," which would include those who are implementing the ideas of renovation most fully and consistently, as well as a "National front in support of perestroika," which would include both members of the Party and non-members – political leaders, people in the arts, and the ordinary rank and file.

My next proposals concern the economy. An increase in the number of cooperatives and joint enterprises would be a notable step forward in reorganizing the national economy. I also think it essential at the present stage to teach everyone to work with computers and to teach foreign languages better.

We are developing our ties with many countries. Surely the time has come to open the borders with the socialist countries. We still know too little about advanced world experience. And this could be remedied, in my view, by the publication of a new magazine Economic and Political Thought Abroad. Let us discuss the possibility of opening a bank of ideas in different fields of knowledge. That would help bypass bureaucratic red tape in getting the best projects implemented.

So far there has been too little glasnost about the defence budget. Why not publish the items of military expenditure?

And one more question that I feel should be discussed at the Party conference. A great deal has been written and said about the need to stop handing out decorations on anniversaries. But so far, what has been done in this respect is clearly insufficient.

In conclusion I should like to express my hope that after the Party conference our press, including your magazine New Times, will keep up the same pace. The people need the truth, and the truth alone.

Gianni Cerutti
Castelletto di Leno, Italy

■ I support the processes of glasnost and renovation taking place in the Soviet Union. But, in my view, when criticizing the past, it should not be condemned. After all, the aims the Soviet leaders and Communists set themselves in the past have been achieved, despite all the "buts" and "ifs." As positive results one could cite the formation of the Soviet state and the democratization of the East European countries, though these have not been backed by the development of the economy. All that was achieved thanks to the unity of the ideas and actions of all Communists and states.

At the present stage, it is essential to achieve progress in the organizational, political and economic spheres. In principle, I agree with the goals of renovation, glasnost,

GLASNOST

democratization in all spheres of life, and decentralization of management and production. But if all enterprises become self-governing, disproportion and tension could arise in relations between rich and poor regions. As I see it, one should keep to such a course of development as would avoid egoism, black marketeering and inequality.

B. Stolyarov
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

■ I read your correspondent Leonid Mlechin's interview with the French sociologist J.-N. Kapferer "Why do we believe rumours?"*(No. 12/88,* Russian edition). It was really interesting and deserving attention. In my opinion in our country the press itself is responsible for starting rumours. Because rumours originate when reports on events, sometimes even very important ones, are given by the press incompletely, when their essence is veiled and the facts are stated vaguely. That gives rise to various rumours, usually exaggerated, and sometimes even completely incorrect. But unfortunately people believe in them. As an example I could cite the events in Nagorny Karabakh. What did we learn from the papers? Practically nothing. There were no detailed on-the-spot reports, nor any profound analysis of the causes behind the events. Only much later did short accounts begin to appear. And so, lacking information, we are forced at times to turn to such radio stations as the Voice of America. Not much imagination is needed to guess how Western journalists interpret such events. I am therefore convinced of the need for complete glasnost, no matter how complex or tragic an event.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Tzeveyn-Dorjin Erdemt
Ulan Bator, Mongolia

■ I work as a foreman in the trailer shop. I should like to share my reflections sparked off by the subject touched upon in the letter from Silvio Sarzi-Sartori and Gerhard Roth *(15/88)*.

Your magazine, like other Soviet publications, has recently taken to publishing bitterly critical articles on the history of the establishment and development of the Soviet state. I think this is very timely, because it pursues one important purpose: to eliminate and rectify mistakes and restore what was correct, but was allowed to slide. Without a complete and objective knowledge of the past there can be no correct understanding of the present, nor any clear idea where the future leads. Of course, when people learn of things that were kept secret from them in the past, their reactions can differ – from curiosity to irritation and the collapse of former ideals. Nevertheless, this has to be done.

Here is how I see the process of historic glasnost. The analysis of history in your press has shown very clearly that in the late twenties there existed two alternative models for building socialism, known at the time as war communism and NEP, and which are defined today as the administrative-command method and democratic socialism. The first alternative was chosen.

Now the administrative-command model is being dismantled and a search is under way for a new democratic model. The analysis of the past provides the answers to many questions, such as why the command model was chosen? At what level was the administrative model developed? What can be borrowed from the NEP? What could serve as an example at the present stage? I think the answers to these questions will make it possible to draw up a complete and stable structure of modern democratic socialism.

Since I have a technical education, I find it easier to visualize everything in the form of blueprints. Well, I see the administrative system of socialism that has existed until now as a pyramid, rather two-dimensional, with vertical links and a limited flow of information. Incidentally, that type of information flow and the mechanism for processing data was, on the one hand, the outcome of the system, and on the other, the factor determining its structure. Now the time has come to decide on the form of the new model. So far it has not been clear what it will be like, but I don't believe it will be two-dimensional. I see it as a pyramid in which there would be both vertical and horizontal lines of communication.

It seems to me that Lenin's brand of democracy can also be visualized as a pyramid, but three-dimensional and with the top cut off to form a plane. At the top there is democracy. That I think is the main difference between Lenin's brand of democracy and Stalin's centralism.

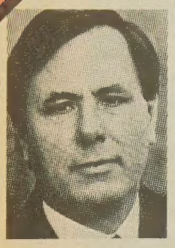
Probably the purpose of delving into history is to draw conclusions from it. And those who say "Don't dig up the past" can always be answered with the weighty argument: "You must know history. And understand why."

ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Yuri Prokopchuk

GLASNOST

PRIVATE OPINION



Andreas von Bülow,
Member of the F.R.G. Bundestag from the Social Democratic Party of Germany

The foreign policy section of the Motions of the CPSU Central Committee to the Party Conference is a welcome change from the dogmatic thinking of past years. But the West too should admit that in the past it has harmed itself and at times missed a chance to achieve security for its peoples by political means. The arms race inevitably hampered the social and economic development of nations.

The fact that U.S. Congress succeeded in ratifying the INF treaty on time, with only a few votes against, inspired the hope of further practical steps on the road to disarmament. The achievement of a first agreement on the reduction of intercontinental nuclear missiles is highly desirable. But resistance to this as before, is still great. The subject of the talks is complex, but given a little good will, success is possible.

Due to the new Moscow leadership, the period of silent East-West confrontation seems to be ending for good. The policy of preventing war by means of the exchange of large-scale shows of huge military strength, including weapons of mass destruction, is a vestige of the stone age, the mode of conduct of a pack of monkeys.

The continued dialogue is having an impact on the way of thinking of politicians on both sides. Those who communicate get an insight into the view of the opposing side. The policy assumes a more profound dimension and helps people accept the need for compromise.

Balram Jakhar,
Speaker of the House of the People of the Indian Parliament

The visit of our parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union coincided with two events which are viewed as the most important events of the past week. The first one was the opening of the Soviet-American summit in Moscow. We certainly hope that it will give an impetus to further steps towards a reduction in the armaments of the great powers and, hence, contribute to the easing of international tension which the whole world and, certainly, Asia, so greatly need. We all heaved a sigh of relief on learning that the U.S. Senate has finally ratified the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. This means that missile destruction is about to be started, in the Asian region as well.

The second event is the publication in the Soviet press of the Motions for the coming conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some might say that this is an internal affair of the U.S.S.R. But this is only formally so. It would not be an overstatement to say that perestroika and the democratization of all aspects of life under way in the Soviet Union, as well as in the area of foreign policy activity, and greater openness are having a profound effect on the international situation. They enhance still more the Soviet Union's prestige. And the published Motions clearly indicate that the process of democratization is not to be halted, that it will deepen and consolidate. We in India welcome this prospect wholeheartedly. I don't doubt for a moment that your glasnost and openness will promote the further strengthening of the bonds of friendship that have long linked India and the Soviet Union.

Stefan Doernberg,
Professor, Chairman of the G.D.R. Council for European Security and Cooperation

To my mind, the essence of the U.S.S.R.-U.S.A. summit in Moscow is to give a fresh impetus to the advance towards a durable peace, without undue haste or unwarranted delays. It is obvious to everyone now that a new spiral in the arms race and continued confrontation could lead humanity to destruction. Therefore I believe policy should nowadays be based on concrete steps towards the prompt elimination of the arsenals of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction. This is the essence of the new thinking which is being met with so wide a response in the G.D.R. and the world.

I am confident that disarmament is the best way of saving the material and spiritual resources needed for the solution of the multitude of complex problems which the world faces. Radical changes are needed if humanity is to survive.

Slaying the dragons

Alexander Pumpyansky

The schedule for the creation of the world now looks like this. First came the Word (Geneva). Then the Dream (Reykjavik), then began the Deeds (Washington). At the stage of Deeds came the most difficult thing of all – and that most difficult thing was Moscow.

But first not about Deeds, but about Action.

Moments of drama

The Action we witnessed in the five days of the past week was striking, unexpected and paradoxical. President Reagan in Moscow, in Red Square, in the Kremlin – that alone is an amazing development.

In his farewell speech, the President again referred to St. George – perhaps partly by association, as he was speaking in St. George's Hall in the Kremlin – but his pronouncement was unexpected: in the past few days we have slain several dragons and advanced against the evil which threatens mankind... The usual Biblical image, the universal categories of Good and Evil. We couldn't believe our ears. Only recently the President was dreaming of an apocalypse, identifying the Soviet Union as the Universal Evil with which all the forces of light should fight tooth and nail. And now the President was calmly saying that evil has another name – it is the threat to peace and freedom in the world, and that for ideals to triumph, God willing, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. must stand together.

The secular and the religious were mixed on many occasions. Dyed-in-the-wool atheists resorted to religious images. At the meeting in the Writers' Union, Vladimir Karpov, who was in the chair, exclaimed that he was prepared to nominate the two leaders for canonization as they were saving the world from war... The Orthodox clergy displayed enviable political sobriety. When the Father Superior of the St. Daniel Monastery was presented with the list of people whom the President wanted to be present at their meeting, he remarked dryly that in the President's collection of Russian proverbs there seemed to be one missing: "One does not enter a foreign monastery with one's own rules."

Schedules were upset, roles were changed. Journalists who were supposed to be putting questions to the distinguished visitor and commenting on the course of the talks, found themselves less concerned with the answers as with giving a "rebuff" and publicly teaching him political manners. On the other hand, the TASS accounts, known the world over for their terseness, suddenly produced lyrical notes... And when the Foreign Minister, before the eyes of the world, kissed the wife of the Secretary of State, it became clear that the methods of people's diplomacy were penetrating even the diplomatic service.

The leaders themselves were at times unpredictable: together or singly they popped up unexpectedly and in the most unusual places. Dan Rather with his TV crew came across Mikhail Gorbachev when there was no interpreter in sight. As a result, he walked off with an exclusive interview. He put the questions in English, the General Secretary answered in Russian, and they were translated by CC Secretary Alexander Yakovlev.

On the third day of the visit, President Reagan publicly renounced his definition of "empire of evil," which had caused such a furore.

A Muscovite who remains nameless, seeing the President next to him, came right up and put his question bluntly: Do you really regard us as an "empire of evil"? And the President, clearly taken aback, said quietly, but with the whole world listening, "No!" The incident occurred in the Kremlin Square in the shadow of the Tsar Cannon, which never fired a shot, but did its job in the country's hour of need – the ancient Tsar Cannon is obviously the Kremlin's secret weapon. It is now absolutely clear that it is time to put an end to the race in stranger weapons by far.

Ronald Reagan also achieved a long-awaited goal – he increased his TV audience by 200 million Soviet people. On the screen he was truly magnificent. Courteous with women, concerned with the young, on good terms with God, and knowledgeably speaking of people dear to the hearts of intellectuals – from Pushkin to Akhmatova and Pasternak. To condemn bureaucracy he used simple terms – like the story about the baby whose hand was kissed by an angel and

who became a craftsman; but what about a future bureaucrat? Where does he get kissed, that he sits so firmly in his chair for so long?

Yes, the Soviet public had every opportunity to enjoy the artistry of the American President, his marvelous gift of keeping audiences enthralled. So those journalists who have a weakness for primitive propaganda or who like to present a caricature of America will now find things much harder going...

There was another audience to the thrilling TV serial "Reagan in Moscow." When the President was charming millions of Soviet men and women, millions of other men and women, his own countrymen, were also watching him. They know their President. For them it is easier to determine when the President is really excited or when he is playing a part. But the part itself is fantastic. The five-day TV serial, each appearance of the President on the Moscow stage, destroyed the "enemy image" which he had so carefully created throughout the past seven years of his presidency. And now should anyone in America, including the President himself, want to revive primitive anti-Soviet stereotypes, they will find it infinitely harder.

The summit may have given birth to some illusions but, on the whole, it brought both societies closer to the realities, to a more natural and human image of one another.

A difficult peak

Now about Deeds.

Those who are satisfied have arguments to back up their view, as do those who are disappointed. The fact that the dialogue begun in Geneva is continuing to evoke satisfaction. But there is disappointment at the absence of any new breakthrough. We've come to regard Soviet-American meetings as peaks in politics, and so each time we expect a new height to be reached.

Possibly certain chances were indeed missed. The Americans rejected outright the proposal to reduce armed forces in Europe, although the idea of exchanging data with subsequent random verification was clearly noteworthy. They were also scared to set down the framework of the agreements reached – from leakages by experts, one was able to gather that on the concrete issues of the treaty that is being prepared on a 50 per cent cut in strategic systems, in some cases half the questions had been resolved, in others – two thirds, and even more. They were afraid to make a joint statement in the spirit of the Geneva, one that nuclear war is inadmissible, but going further and saying that no controversial issues should be resolved by military means.

It was a pity, of course, for those who were expecting a sensation, but one could hardly have expected more. And isn't it time to get along in Soviet-American relations without sensations? In just five months it was, unfortunately, impossible to prepare a treaty consigning half the strategic arsenals to the rubbish heap – it was not only technically unrealistic, politically and psychologically it was even more unrealistic. Nor can historic meetings be arranged every five months.

The Moscow summit – and this is another paradox – is in its own way both less and more than a historic meeting. It reaffirmed the historic process, its continuity and development. It was a working moment in this historic process, not without its share of drama and sensations.

President Ronald Reagan of the United States replies to a question put by a New Times correspondent (Moscow, press conference, June 1)

N.T. Are there any aspects of Soviet-American relations that you would advise your successor to abandon? What aspects of the relations between our countries would you advise the future President of the United States to develop?

Ronald Reagan. If these talks continue, I will do all I can to persuade my successor to carry them on. I'll probably tell him that he will see for himself the exceptional cordiality and hospitality of the Russian people.

A clash of characters

A summit is the supreme test of the characters of its participants – the individuals and the societies. Let us examine it in this light.

Mikhail Gorbachev, 57, a vigorous leader of a new movement described as perestroika, which is intended to determine the course of life in the Soviet Union until at least the end of the century. He has a clear mandate for decisive action.

Ronald Reagan, 77. The day of the inauguration of the next president is fixed, and he has only another seven months in office. Behind his back there is revolt. His own conservatives regard dialogue with the Soviet Union as betrayal. Party opponents – Democrats and rivals for power on the Capitol – believe that a President due to retire has no business assuming new obligations. Even at the Moscow talks he was surrounded by assistants ready to explain that he is not supposed to like what he likes, on the grounds that it could hamper the future president.

Both speak of dreams, but their dreams are different.

One dreams of a non-nuclear and non-violent world starting as soon as the year 2000.

Another dreams of living to see the day when impressarios in, say, Britain can invite a rock group without resorting to the services of government departments, so that they can perform in Liverpool on the evening of the following day. (From the President's speech at Moscow University.)

Behind the backs of the two participants in the talks stand two different social situations.

In one case is a country that seeks to break with past inertia and radically revise past dogmas in domestic and foreign policy.

For it, the normalization of relations with America is a return to a natural development, and disarmament a desirable blessing that will eliminate an intolerable burden. In the other case is a soceity, also sick and tired of confrontation and the arms race, but conscious that too many interests are vested in them.

A meeting between two such individuals and social situations could not end in a unilateral victory. The argument as to which is more important – a reduction in nuclear armaments or human rights – is in essence a strange argument. Since when has nuclear fetishism, attempts to perpetuate the weapon of the Apocalypse and faith in a "balance of terror," provided proof of respect for the individual? Nor can threats to refuse to settle questions of war and peace until the U.S.S.R. makes concessions to the West on human rights be described as a moral position. Disarmament cannot be hostage to political demands, even the best, blackmail is not a means of advancing democracy. No go to ultimata – that was explained to the Americans first in Washington and now in Moscow. And the President himself seems to have realized that the time for crusades has passed. That being the case, the only possible solution is compromise.

The realistic clash between two dreams, two distant programmes – and, moreover, during a lull in American political life – can be resolved only by a sufficiently modest compromise: agreement on small joint steps. Such small steps were agreed in Moscow last week: a series of concrete agreements and the declared intention of moving ahead to bigger things.

What next?

In effect Moscow was the final act of the Washington summit. The exchange of instruments of ratification put a full stop in the INF treaty. A full stop, after which there is a pause.

Now our two countries are concentrating on themselves. Moscow is taken up with the coming party conference, Washington with the Presidential elections. How will these major stages in their lives affect the Soviet-American dialogue? One can only make suppositions with a greater or lesser degree of probability.

I believe that the conference will come out in words and substance for the normalization of relations with the West – the Theses issued by the CC are absolutely unambiguous on this point. Society has come to realize that democratization and overcoming the legacy of the cold war are interconnected. Theoretically speaking, a return to conservative methods of rule would be a catastrophe not only internally, but externally as well. The purpose of the conference is to produce guarantees that will make such a return impossible.

The effect of the American elections is harder to predict. Experience shows that this is not the best of times for a sensible policy. In the heated atmosphere of careerism and ambition, political games and demagogy flourish, and the favourite game is muscle-flexing... Despite, or perhaps because of, that, the Moscow summit was a serious positive factor.

I find it hard to believe that candidate Bush will try to dissociate himself from its results – if only in desperation. For it would mean abandoning any hope of getting Reagan's blessing, which is still the trump card in his campaign.

Nor do I think Dukakis would seek to oppose what has been accomplished, and not just because he promised earlier to speed up the conclusion of a 50 per cent treaty and ban nuclear testing. From the lips of the Democratic spokesman, the use of terminology of the "empire of evil" type would be open plagiarism. With a living Reagan, a return to the old Reagan would not even be a tragedy, but a farce.

But perhaps the President himself will try to complete what he has started? Then indeed he would assure himself of a place in history. Will he have sufficient determination? Sufficient strength?

That being the case, it is important that all that has been achieved should not be lost in the pause that has set in, and that the way be paved for another big stride forward. Two conditions have to be met for this. First, the democratic reform of Soviet society must convince the public in the West: though control is necessary, it is also high time for trust. And secondly, aggressive conservatives should not be allowed to sow dragon's teeth.

In the final count, the creation of the world was not completed in four days: it took a whole week. So we look forward to new summits with a new President. The historic process of normalization continues.

CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

Synchronizing our watches...

Sergei Golyakov,
New Times political analyst

A difficult situation arose at the end of our talks with the President. We spoke openly and bluntly on major and important issues. We stood facing each other, then moved apart, took counsel with our aides, and then returned to face each other... It was not simple. We wanted to complete this important meeting between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. leaders in the best way possible, with the maximum positive results.

It seemed the holy of holies of international politics. Yet here was frank and confidential information from the very source of the dramatic situation that arose in the last moments of the Moscow summit. In the past, such information could hardly have been expected to reach those not directly involved. But now Mikhail Gorbachev was sharing his most personal feelings, hard on the heels of the event, with a large audience consisting mainly of representatives of the peace organizations – national and international – who had come to Moscow from forty countries in connection with the Soviet-American summit.

Yes, we have no secrets from the authorized representatives of citizen diplomacy. Our words, like our actions, have been taken much more seriously ever since we began speaking openly and frankly about our problems, difficulties and anxieties. To glasnost we owe the tremendous credit of trust given to us abroad, and it has also strengthened rather than weakened the international prestige of the Soviet Union, despite the still prevalent misconceptions.

That conclusion was also suggested by the meeting in the Kremlin with representatives of the international public. Not for nothing was it considered the last act of the Moscow summit. This assessment, I would say, reflects the respect shown for the desire of people on various continents increasingly to invade international politics. We are impressed by this determination. It has become a striking sign of the times in which we live, reflecting the fact that the destinies of countries and peoples are interconnected and interdependent.

In the nuclear age when the price that would have to be paid for a mistake in international politics has soared immensely, acquiring terrifying dimensions, the presence of citizen diplomacy in politics assumes a special quality. It imbues politics with morality and humanism, and guarantees that this policy will not be divorced from its raison d'être – man, his anxieties and interests. The most important sign of the priority given to these interests in our times is the step that has been taken towards a nuclear-free world, the ratification of the INF treaty. Knowing the mood of their compatriots, even the most rabid opponents of the treaty were unable to say NO to this initiative. Such an answer in our times is a political luxury no politician can afford.

But we should not forget that diplomacy is an art. Citizen diplomacy is no exception. All that we knew in the past is important and valuable. But today we need new knowledge, different approaches. We heed a new look, based on trust, we have to learn to look each other in the eyes. We have to move towards each other, seek a better life, a better world. That is our common concern, the concern of all nations. Civilization is faced with an imperative: it is time to change our way of thinking, change our attitude to how we should build our present-day world.

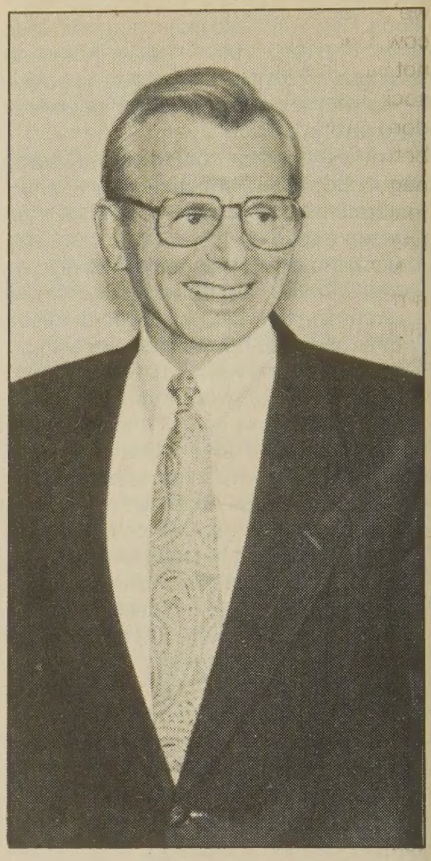
It looks as if much is beginning to change. Mighty public forces have started moving. But we cannot ignore the deadly threats that still loom over mankind: the continuing arms race, poverty and backwardness, hunger and disease, pollution of the environment. The dangers are mounting. That is why the time factor today is acquiring such importance. We have to act.

One of the participants in the multi-voiced Moscow dialogue said to me: "At this meeting we spoke for more than three hours about the most important, most sacred of things – the preservation of life on Earth, peaceful cooperation, the road to trust and mutual understanding. We are all different, and we are all alike. We are citizens of one world, passengers on one ship. In Moscow we felt ourselves much in a new way. We synchronized our watches before a new attack on war, hunger, injustice." Fine words. If the other representatives of citizen diplomacy share this view then the shoots of new political thinking are growing stronger. This means that international politics can indeed be humanized.

The Pentagon chief interviewed in Moscow

by our correspondent Galina Sidorova

A subsidiary of the Pentagon in Moscow? That mad idea passed through my mind as I was riding up to the 7th floor of the Hotel Mezhdunarodnaya, where during the days of the fourth summit U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci had set up his headquarters. Passing through all the security cordons, I found myself in a room packed with a myriad of antennae, boxes and courteous and unapproachable assistants. I barely had time to ask whether one could contact any part of the Pentagon from this room when I was invited into Frank Carlucci's office.



He was both welcoming and concentrated. A man used to getting things done. At the outset it emerged that that day – May 31 – was a "first" for both of us: it was the first time I had interviewed the United States Defence Secretary. For him it was the first ever interview he had given a Soviet journalist.

New Times. Mr Secretary, I know that you have a wealth of experience in government service. You are an experienced politician, a career diplomat, you have held the post of Deputy Director of the CIA and not so long ago you took over the Defence Department. Where did you find the work easier and where more interesting?

Frank Carlucci. Well, certainly I'm not a politician. I've never held any elected office. Basically, I was a career government servant. I've been in diplomatic service. I've been in different government agencies: the budget office, the health, education and welfare offices. I've directed our poverty programme. As you pointed out, I've been on the CIA and a national security adviser. I really can't answer your question because I enjoyed each job. I felt comfortable in all of them. I'm glad to think there've been some accomplishments during the time when I've been in those different departments. I find it generally more interesting managing programmes, say, the Office of Management and Budget, or the job analyzing intelligence reports when I was in the CIA. I'm quite happy with the job I've got now.

N.T. I know you were a good wrestler at Princeton University. Did that somehow help you in your career?

F.C. I was not that good. I guess it helps you, because you learn in wrestling when you get knocked down to get back up.

N.T. What do you appreciate most in your partners at the negotiating table? I know you have now had experience of that as well.

F.C. I think the most important thing in your negotiating partner is to be very direct, forthright and forthcoming, not devious. One can always sense when your partner becomes devious. The basis for any negotiations to be successful has to be trust.

N.T. How can you estimate the level of sincerity and trust at your present negotiations with the Defence Minister Yazov?

F.C. That comes only with experience and some background, such as George Shultz has, or the President, and I have not much experience myself. Mind you, we expect our negotiating counterparts vigorously to defend their national interests. We defend our national interests. That's entirely proper. And we should have vigorous debates on some issues, and we do. And the negotiations we have with the Soviet Union are vigorous. In many areas we disagree. I think they have always been conducted on a very direct and forthright basis.

N.T. Do you think the general atmosphere, the climate has now changed a bit?

F.C. No, I wouldn't say so. I haven't been involved in all the negotiations. Much of the negotiations have been handled by Secretary Shultz, he's basically our negotiator. I've been in some of his negotiations. I've been in the INF

negotiations with Secretary Shultz. And the atmosphere there was very positive and very forthright. The same atmosphere continues to prevail. Certainly we've had a very warm reception in Moscow. Once again, it does not mean we've not had differences. We are two different societies. There's a lot that needs to be done by way of bridging the differences between our societies, differences in our negotiating goals, although we want to reach agreements. But the atmosphere has been growing businesslike.

N.T. I know you've got a reputation as a master of compromise in all the government posts you've occupied. Can you use your experience in the negotiations with the Soviet military establishment?

F.C. Let me emphasize once again that I'm not a negotiator. George Shultz has been the principal negotiator, though obviously I've been consulted by him on some issues, because I'm responsible for military sufficiency up till the negotiations are over. My contacts with the Soviet Defence Minister General Yazov are not really in the way of negotiations. They are more an exchange of views. We discussed each other's respective military doctrines. We talked about the ways we can avoid dangerous incidents. And we are working on a system of inter-military contacts. We do talk about the arms control negotiations and we exchanged views on the problem – and there was a rather vigorous exchange on sea- and air-launched cruise missiles. We recognized we're not the ones who are supposed to reach the solution, and left the discussion to Marshal Akhromeyev and his U.S. counterpart.

N.T. As far as I know, the Soviet side proposed different control measures, among them, on sea-launched cruise missiles. There was some talk of a joint experiment concerning these measures. What is your attitude to the proposal?

F.C. We've just signed an agreement on a joint verification experiment on the threshold test ban treaty. And we're talking about sea-launched cruise missiles. We've had a lot of experiments, looking into all kinds of things, and quite frankly, we don't see any way we can verify sea-launched missiles. You can't distinguish those missiles from conventional sea-launched cruise missiles or, indeed, you can't distinguish them from nuclear power plants or from other nuclear weapons on board a ship. And we've consulted many of our scientists, and they don't think there can be any progress in the joint verification experiment at this time.

N.T. Don't you see any way of resolving this problem?

F.C. Do you mean sea-launched cruise missiles?

N.T. Yes.

F.C. I think it's important to bear in mind that sea-launched cruise missiles are not included in the 50 per cent reduction of 6,000 nuclear warheads. We do not consider sea-launched cruise missiles strategic weapons. We agreed at the Washington summit that there should be some limits on nuclear sea-launched missiles, and we never agreed on any other type of conventional sea-launched cruise missiles. We are to find a way to do this, making some kind of declaratory statement with respect to sea-launched cruise missiles. Particularly, since you can't verify, it's very difficult to have an enforcible regime. But I should not anticipate the discussions which are going on at this very moment.

Carlucci, Frank Charles. Born October 18, 1930, in Scranton, Pennsylvania, into the family of an insurance agent. His paternal grandfather was a stonemason who emigrated to the U.S. from Southern Italy. Shortly after his arrival in America, he became owner of a thriving construction company. In 1952 Carlucci-III graduated from Princeton University. From 1952 to 1954 he was a reserve lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Forces. Then he took a postgraduate course at the Harvard School of Business Administration.

In 1956 he joined the State Department. Appointed vice-consul to Johannesburg. 1960-62 – second secretary at the U.S. embassy in Kinshasa. 1964-65 – U.S. consul-general in Zanzibar. 1965-69 – counsellor for political affairs at U.S. embassy in Brazil.

1971 – Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. 1972 – Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget. 1974-75 – Undersecretary of the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. 1975-78 – U.S. ambassador to Portugal.

1978-81 – Deputy Director of the CIA.

1981-82 – First Deputy Defence Secretary.

1982-86 – Chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Co.

1986-87 – Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

From late in 1987 – Secretary of Defence.

Married. Three children. Ardent sportsman all his life: swims a mile each day, plays tennis, joggs, as a student was a good wrestler.

N.T. But are you going to try to find some means of verification in the future?

F.C. Technology always moves along. We'll look at the issue. I don't know that anybody can see a good means of verification in the near future.

N.T. What do you think is now preventing the 50 per cent cut agreement – political, military or, perhaps, psychological issues?

F.C. I would say, none of the above. The problem is now in the details. Both sides have agreed that the verification is very important. And when you get down to such things as verifying mobile missiles – land-based mobile missiles, and we think that may be possible – you have to agree on the verification principles. There's been some progress made on that at the summit, but there's a lot more that needs to be made before we can agree on a verification regime. That's one issue. We still haven't solved all the count rules – how to count air-launched cruise missiles. And that needs to be looked up. And we had continued problems in the defence in space area, where both sides are interpreting the language reached at the Washington summit somewhat differently. That had to be clarified. We have not made much progress in the exact language on that. It is well known that the U.S. President will not allow the air space defence programme to slow down or to stop the development of the Strategic Defence Initiative, especially since you have a strategic defence programme of your own.

N.T. I've read in some of the American press that SDI has changed a bit. I mean that the programme is not now what it was in 1983, and that there has been some transformation in the attitude to it?

F.C. No, what was stressed in the U.S. press is that Congress is not giving us all the money we asked for. So we had to restructure the form within the defining profile. Secondly, I've appointed a commission to examine SDI. As Defence Secretary I wanted to be sure that I was fully comfortable with the programme. So I've got some outside scientists to take a look at it. They reported that the

concept was fundamentally sound, and they recommended a step-by-step process to get so-called "phase 1." I'm still studying the report before making decisions on the step-by-step process. So reports that SDI has changed are a bit premature, except for a different defining profile.

N.T. As a realist, when do you think we can expect a 50 per cent cut agreement?

F.C. I mentioned earlier that I've some experience in negotiating, and the last thing a negotiator does is to predict a time before the time when the negotiations will be completed. The General Secretary and the President mentioned that they want to move ahead as rapidly as possible, and, if possible, to sign the agreement during Mr Reagan's presidency. President Reagan said he would be delighted to conclude such an agreement. But, once again, it will depend on the work of the working groups in Geneva.

N.T. Sometimes from the outside it seems that the agreement is very close. But the more we move forward, the more problems we seem to have.

F.C. That's the pattern of all the negotiations. You can discuss and resolve the large issues, but when you get down to the details, it becomes more difficult, not because of disagreement but because it has to be spelled out very carefully. The worst thing of all is that both sides don't have the same understanding of the agreement. The hard work really does come towards the end.

N.T. As far as I know what worries NATO most at present is the problem of conventional weapons. What is your attitude to the proposal to exchange data on conventional forces and armaments in Europe?

F.C. We are certainly not opposed to exchanging data since most of our data is already published. But we think that that exchange needs to be done in the context of the specific negotiations. We have agreed with the Soviet Union to conduct the Atlantic-to-Urals stability talks. And obviously once we get a mandate for those talks – and this is still linked to the human rights aspects of CSCE – there will be an exchange of data. And in principle we have no objection to any kind of exchange of data, if it is tied up with specific negotiations.

N.T. Can you tell me if your attitude towards the Soviet Union, towards its intentions has changed as a result of talks with General Yazov and the Soviet military leaders?

F.C. It's not a question of attitude. We respect the Soviet Union's need for a strong national defence. We recognize your country has been invaded many times. And you need your way to defend yourself. At the same time we think that your defence exceeds what is necessary to defend the mainland, and has contributed to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and that's a matter of great concern to us. We have heard the General Secretary say that the Soviet military doctrine is reasonable sufficiency, and we have read what General Yazov has said on the defensive doctrine. We were exploring with General Yazov what the actual ramifications of that doctrine might be in both structures. I think the dialogue in itself is helpful. We are always hopeful that we will see some tangible results in the change of the doctrine, but I think at the present stage we still have incomplete understanding on where all those changes are.

N.T. And the last question concerns glasnost. I have learned that you favour severe restrictions in informing the public about military issues and national security issues. Is it true? And if it is true, do you think that glasnost in this respect has some limits?

F.C. I believe that legitimate national security secrets should remain secret. On the other hand, we in the United States publish an enormous amount about our military establishment. I put out an annual statement of details on our forces, on numbers of tanks, numbers of airplanes. I put out budget figures. I put out something like 540 statements a year on one aspect or other of the U.S. military establishment. I think it's also fair to say that in "Soviet Military Power" we put out more information on the Soviet military establishment than the Soviet Union does. Your military establishment does not even publish a military budget. Certainly the Soviet Union, just like the United States, has secrets it needs to keep: its military activities, intelligence activities, etc. That's natural. It's been natural from time immemorial. But those things that do not legitimately need to be kept secret we release, and we hope that glasnost will result in more opening up of the Soviet military establishment for the world to see.

N.T. Thank you for the interview and I hope that contacts between Soviet and American military will be just as fruitful as the talks between politicians and diplomats.

An ocean full of opportunities

Nikolai Kotlyar, U.S.S.R. Minister of Fisheries

The agreement signed on May 31 on mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and U.S. in the fishing industry is not the first such agreement between the two countries. In the 1950s-60s, government agreements provided for the research, preservation and rational use of live sea resources. Cooperation between scientific research institutions began at the same time. Fishermen also showed interest in developing bilateral ties. 1976 saw the signing of an agreement allowing Soviet trawlers to fish within the U.S. 200-mile economic zone. It was then that the first joint company Sovam was formed, and it has operated successfully to this day.

Although business ties between our two countries within the framework of this agreement were mutually advantageous, Washington began to introduce unilateral and unwarrantably severe sanctions and restrictions. As a result, by the beginning of the 1980s the two countries had practically stopped cooperating in the fishing industry. Objective difficulties cropped up. The U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea came into force in 1982, and on the basis of this the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. adopted corresponding legislation, and a new legal basis for cooperation had to be drawn up. Experts have been working on it throughout the past five years. Their success in finding mutually acceptable solutions to controversial issues was greatly promoted by the perestroika in foreign economic relations that had begun in our country.

The newly signed agreement opens up fresh prospects for developing equal and mutually advantageous cooperation in fishing. In keeping with their national legislations, both sides have set the quotas for fishing in their respective economic zones. Scientific research which is essential for preserving the optimal use of live sea resources is to be continued. The two sides have agreed to encourage joint enterprises for fishing, reproduction, processing and marketing.

The Tomahawks in START's way

One of the most important obstacles that prevented work on the treaty on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons (START) being completed in time for the Moscow summit was the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs). Nor were the differences eliminated in Moscow. What are these missiles? Why does the Pentagon persistently refuse to include them in the agreement? Is it just a matter of control and verification? Colonel VLADIMIR NAZARENKO, Candidate of Military Sciences, examines these questions.

The deployment, since the middle of 1984, of nuclear cruise missiles on U.S. vessels has greatly extended the functions of general purpose American Naval Forces. At present any major vessel and any submarine can justly be regarded by the other side as a potential carrier of nuclear cruise missiles. Their high accuracy and ability to approach sea-launched targets unnoticed make them an extremely destabilizing weapon. These qualities of the SLCMs, as well as the fact that they can be used either as nuclear or conventional weapons, significantly lower the nuclear threshold and make the escalation of a conflict virtually uncontrollable: from regional to global, and from conventional to nuclear level.

It will be remembered that, at their Washington meeting, the leaders of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., in their joint statement of December 10, 1987, noted the following: "The Sides shall find a mutually acceptable solution to the question of limiting the deployment of long-range, nuclear-armed SLCMs. Such limitations will not involve counting long-range, nuclear-armed SLCMs within the 6,000 warheads and 1,600 strategic offensive delivery system limits. The Sides committed themselves to establish ceilings on such missiles, and to seek mutually acceptable and effective methods of verification of such limitations, which could include the employment of national technical means, cooperative measures and on-site inspection."

Of course the most simple and radical solution to the SLCM problem would be to ban completely their production, testing and deployment both in the nuclear and the dual-purpose version.

Another measure could be limiting the zones which vessels carrying SLCMs would be allowed to patrol, or at least establishing the minimum distance within which they could come of the shores of the other side.

To facilitate the count of cruise carriers, one could use rules similar to those drafted by the two sides for the SALT-2 treaty. For instance, if a nuclear cruise missile were tested or deployed on a vessel (surface or submarine), then all vessels of this class should be regarded as carriers of the nuclear version of the missile.

Logic prompts that it would be sensible to restrict the deployment of cruise missiles to certain types of vessel and set a ceiling on the number of missiles on each carrier.

A short while ago, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergei Akhromeyev, speaking at a press conference, expressed his disagreement with his U.S. counterparts' contention that SLCM cannot be controlled. Agreement on control could be reached, if there is agreement on the types of sub-

As from 1984, the U.S. Navy has been equipped with Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCM) of three modifications: BGM-109A with a nuclear nose cone and BGM-109C with a conventional NC for use against ground targets, and BGM-109B with a conventional NC for use against surface targets. Outwardly they do not differ from each other.

A combined system of targeting makes it possible to achieve a high degree of accuracy (circular probable error – about 30 metres).

The missile can approach a ground target unseen at very low altitudes (60-100 metres) following the features of the terrain. Consequently, it is hard to destroy by anti-aircraft defence.

Its maximum range with a nuclear component (charge up to 200 kilotons) is 2,600 kilometres (in future as much as 4,400 kilometres), and with a conventional warhead (monobloc or cluster) – 1,500 kilometres.

The U.S. Naval Command plans to have by the mid-1990s about 4,000 Tomahawks of different modifications: about 800 with nuclear warheads and almost 2,600 with conventional warheads, and 600 anti-ship missiles with conventional warheads. All in all, it is proposed to equip up to 200 vessels, including about 100 multi-purpose nuclear submarines and more than 90 other ships.

The main areas designated for the deployment of U.S. vessels equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles with nuclear warheads are the Norwegian Sea, the North Sea, the Barents Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Seas of Okhotsk and Japan.

Diagram of the use of sea-launched cruise missiles. 1 – area of correction of targeting system, 2 – city with strong anti-aircraft defence, 3 – positions of artillery-rocket complexes, 4 – possible directions of missile's approach to target, 5 – target.

marine and vessel on which the deployment of SLCM is permitted. But the point is, the chief of the U.S.S.R. General Staff underlines, that representatives of the U.S. Navy do not agree.

We believe that there is an obvious need to draw up such measures as would permit a comprehensive solution to this problem. Namely, control by national technical means; the introduction of strict rules of counting; and joint control, right down to on-the-spot inspection.

The time has come to get a firm agreement on ceilings for nuclear SLCMs, and draft reliable measures for controlling observance of the agreement.

The Soviet Union favours the strictest control on a mutual basis. The technical facilities for remote control are sufficiently effective. "We have used our scientific and technical achievements," Mikhail Gorbachev said, "to create national means capable of detecting the presence of nuclear weapons on any vessels – surface or submarine – without a direct inspection on board."

National technical control facilities make it possible to detect with a high degree of efficiency the presence (or absence) and point of deployment of nuclear weapons, including SLCMs, on board different types of surface vessel and submarine (when they are not submerged). This equipment could, for instance, be installed on helicopters and used to control ships at anchor, at bases and out in the open sea.

These means could, of course, be improved in future. Cooperation in this field would undoubtedly bring its fruits.

The Soviet Union has proposed concrete measures for limiting SLCMs and a system for control, including mutual checks on board ships – both Soviet and American. However, our partners believe that real control over SLCMs is as yet impossible. They say that they have tested all means and methods, and have not obtained positive results.

There is no disputing that the question of control is one of the central ones and on its solution depends the success of the preparation of the treaty on a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons. And if no strict control is established over SLCMs and their carriers, it would be useless signing any agreement. The Soviet Union maintains that only complete comprehensive control, as an integral part of any disarmament measures, can provide a reliable guarantee of security. Of course, a universal system of control that would suit all disarmament treaties cannot be worked out. In each concrete case numerous new technical problems have to be solved.

That is all so. And of course, the difficulties of controlling agreements increase as weapons are perfected, but the means of control are also perfected. So in order not to complicate control, it is necesary to display muitual restraint in applying the achievements of scientific and technical progress for military purposes and seek to conclude disarmament agreements as soon as possible.

But in the case of reduction and control of SLCMs, the American side is doing the exact opposite. Its work at the Geneva talks on nuclear and space weapons can only be described as stalling. So it is no accident that at the Moscow summit the American side was unprepared to come to an agreement on a number of issues concerning control over certain types of armament, especially SLCMs, which created serious obstacles to concluding the START agreement. Indeed, what sense is there in deciding to cut offensive weapons if such mighty destabilizing weapons as long-range nuclear SLCMs are left uncovered by it? In effect, this opens up another very dangerous direction in the arms race. Roundabout manoeuvring in such a serious matter is inadmissible. The American side should agree as quickly as possible that the fourth component of the U.S. strategic triad – sea-launched cruise missiles – must also be subject to reduction and control.

NT NEWS

New Times is, of course, a creative undertaking (at least that is our firm belief). However, we also have to engage in organizational matters, and sometimes bureaucratic ones too. And not always unproductively. Definitely useful, from our point of view, was the conference at which an agreement was reached between the publishers of Moskovskaya Pravda and the publishers Wspolczesny of Poland and Prace of Czechoslovakia. The agreements concerned the continued publication in Warsaw and Prague of the New Times Polish edition Nowe Czasy and the Czech edition Nova Doba...

We also have our share of guests. Jozsef Palfy, chairman of the Hungarian journalists' union and editor-in-chief of the political weekly, Magyarorszag, came to Moscow to cover the summit. But he didn't forget his old friends on the staff of New Times. He came to the office and spoke about the party conference recently held in his country.

Milos Dromnjak, deputy editor-in-chief of the Yugoslav magazine Medjunarodna Politika, spent ten days in Moscow.

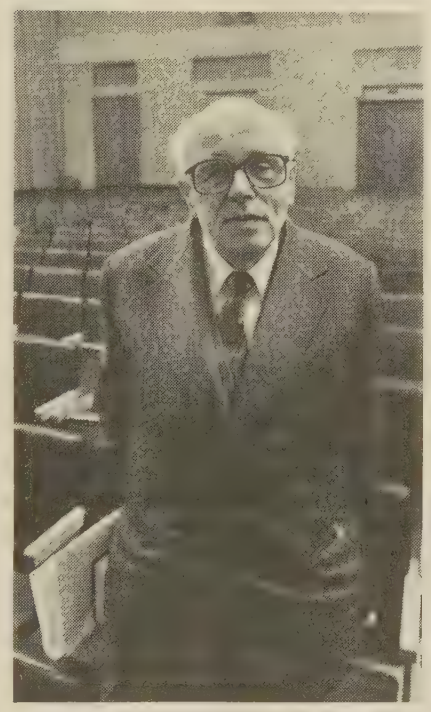
For the first time the Portuguese edition of New Times has begun coming out in 48 pages, instead of 32. Readers in Portugal, Mozambique, Angola, Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking countries will be getting more information from each issue of New Times. This news was heard with great interest by the Moscow correspondent for the Mozambique information agency AIM Xavier Tsenane.

Academician Andrei Sakharov:

"A trustworthy policy"

The Moscow summit press centre concluded its activity on a rather unexpected note: newsmen were invited to a meeting with Academician Andrei Sakharov.

The grey-and-blue conference hall of the press centre's headquarters in Zubovskaya Square was full to capacity. The Academician turned up a few minutes earlier than scheduled and started to read out his statement right away, softly and unhurriedly. We follow with excerpts from Academician Sakharov's pronouncements at the conference.



The Soviet-American summit and disarmament problems

The U.S.-U.S.S.R. summit, just over, has been important as an extension and development of the negotiations aimed at creating an atmosphere of greater understanding and confidence between our two countries. And this despite the fact that its concrete results were not as impressive as those of the December summit.

Well, summits are summits precisely thanks to the background of hills and valleys against which they rise. The structure of a mountain ridge is such that it always comprises both peaks and hills.

What really matters to all is the prospect of signing an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms. I am convinced that the START treaty can be signed regardless of the SDI issue. It is common knowledge that the sides have gone quite far in meeting each other halfway and, on the whole, found compromise solutions formulated last December and in the latest statement. There remain, however, some of the more specific problems. Let me touch upon one of them.

I mean the problem of sea-launched cruise missiles. These are certainly strategic weapons, and the Treaty should apply to them. Control problems can be solved politically by admitting verification groups equipped with sonars to warships. This is unprecedented, but then the entire present situation is unprecedented. The Treaty on a 50 per cent reduction of strategic offensive arms will be of still greater importance than the historic INF treaty now ratified.

I attach great importance to the problem of a conventional arms reduction. Without it, a drastic cutback in nuclear weapons is impossible, and it is only a reduction of conventional arms that can have a telling economic effect which will help solve global problems facing mankind, and go a long way towards a harmonious development of all countries, an improvement of the ecological situation, and the elimination of poverty and disease.

I also advocate the idea of establishing in Europe a demilitarized corridor free of all weapons – and not necessarily of nuclear weapons alone, in which case, in my opinion, the balance would be upset. A fully demilitarized corridor would effectively rule out the possibility of a surprise attack by one side on the other, and thus promote mutual confidence...

I believe arms control negotiations to be very complex ones, and it would hardly be practicable to pick them out of the general context. We know from past records that in the course of preparing the INF treaty the problem of arms control was discussed for more than a year, for two years I think. Over that period each side put forward, and then took back, various proposals. This is, so to say, the technical aspect of thrashing out a perfect agreement. We know that in the end unprecedented intermediate and shorter-range missile control measures, working both ways, were adopted. Now very complicated negotiations centering upon other types of weapon are in progress. Given the common will, results will be achieved. The problems involved here are much more complex than those connected with intermediate and shorter-range missiles. In general, a certain patience is needed.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan

This is an event of enormous historic importance. I think the withdrawal of Soviet troops should continue under any circumstances, irrespective of what the anti-government troops do. However, the use of a U.N. peace-keeping force might be expedient. War-ravaged Afghanistan is in need of extensive economic and humanitarian aid in food, medicines, clothes, everything it is now short of. The

introduction of Soviet troops there in 1979 was a grave mistake. Democratization in the U.S.S.R. should result, among other things, in such mistakes being excluded in the future. The whole world is interested in that.

Nuclear energy

Mankind cannot do without nuclear energy. It is purer ecologically than that based on the utilization of organic fuels. Despite the development of energy-saving techniques, the output of electric energy is expected to continue to grow in the next few decades, which is impossible to achieve without nuclear power plants. If mankind resorted to a drastic restriction of electric energy output, that would tell on the quality of life in all countries, and the developing world would be especially hard hit. Actually, it would mean a colossal deterioration of quality of life and, in my opinion, quite simply kill a large number of people.

As we develop the nuclear power industry, we must see to its absolute safety. A cardinal solution to this problem lies in placing nuclear reactors under ground. This is economically acceptable and technically feasible. There are no insoluble problems involved here. What matters is to make up our minds in principle, to take this very road. This idea meets with resistance from two quarters – those who object to nuclear power as such, and those who believe that a high degree of safety can be achieved without the underground placement of power plants. But a high degree of safety does not mean 100 per cent safety, and we know that accidents always occur unexpectedly; in my opinion, it is only an underground reactor that is completely safe. I believe in the need for, and the importance of, an international law banning the construction of nuclear reactors above ground.

Perestroika and human rights

The nation has entered a crucial stage, a very complex and controversial one. And a dangerous one, too, I'd say. Perestroika is a historical inevitability. There is no alternative to stagnation, to the country lagging catastrophically behind in scientific and technological progress, to the pre-crisis situation, to administrative and command methods of management, the violation of social justice, corruption and lawlessness, the moral and ethical degradation of society, the loss of the sense of reality in foreign policy. Much has been and is being done, both on the home front and in the foreign policy sphere. Glasnost is of enormous importance.

But there are many alarming symptoms, too. The vital laws adopted over the past year and pertaining to the economy, state enterprises, cooperatives, and private enterprise bear, to my mind, the stamp of political compromise, and have serious shortcomings, while their realization meets with resistance – sometimes passive, and sometimes even active.

There is need for reform in legislation, with the articles under which people used to be persecuted for their convictions to be annulled... Another legislative problem we are faced with is the right to a free choice of the country of residence. This should not be confined to the reunification of families. The full exercise of the right to free choice of one's country of residence – to emigration and return, ensured by legislation – will be of momentous importance as a manifestation of society's openness and its conformity to international social and economic standards.

The future of perestroika lies in a greater economic, political and ideological pluralism.

I think that at present one can take part in the process of perestroika without being a Party member. This situation ought to continue. To a certain extent the Party should see to it, of course, that non-members enjoy real and increasing opportunities to help carry perestroika through. The papers carry many articles that promote perestroika in practical ways, and far from all the authors are Party members. Specifically, I have the impression that I promote perestroika myself by my activity, although I am not a Party member, either. Economic activity, private enterprise, work under family contracts – any honest effort people make for the good of society is a real contribution to perestroika.

The Communist Party should actually think of ways of increasing the contribution of non-Party members to perestroika.

I am concerned about the existence of an opposition to perestroika. This is a very serious thing indeed, involving the immediate material and ideological interests of large groups of our state. Moreover, perestroika is an extremely complex process in the course of which mistakes can be made and setbacks may occur. There are many means of making the public at large feel disappointed with perestroika. It is my hope that perestroika is necessary and inevitable, objectively necessary, irrespective of its adherents' personal will, and therefore I think that perestroika will prevail in the end.

I think that on the whole the policy being conducted now is extremely serious and trustworthy. To a certain extent one can even give it credence, in advance, in matters concerning human rights. I hope for further progress in this sphere. On the whole I think that perestroika is extremely serious, both in its international and domestic aspects. Manifestations of trust in our country at the present juncture will facilitate perestroika – particularly, further progress in the field of human rights.

I consider Mikhail Gorbachev an oustanding statesman and one of the main architects of perestroika and contributors to it and I wholeheartedly wish him success in the endeavour now associated with his name. This endeavour is of extraordinary importance; it has much in common with the ideas about an open society which I have gleaned from works by the outstanding philosophers and humanists of our time and which are very close to me. These efforts must indeed be wished success and given every cooperation.

This concluded the two-hour meeting. We have touched upon only some of the subjects discussed at it... But the very fact of this meeting having taken place is most significant. Many Western journalists kept trying to learn the reasons for Academician Sakharov's appearance at the Press Centre of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They asked on what terms the Academician had been allowed to speak, and what compromises he had had to make.

"I always try to speak my mind," Andrei Sakharov answered with dignity. "I think that what has brought me to this hall was a changed situation in this country rather than any changes in my stance... Inside, I always feel a free man, and did so even when in Gorky. This comes from my personal stand... As far as this press conference is concerned, it was all very simple, really. Many newsmen approached me, so I explained to them that I could not meet with everyone of them personally and recommended that they call the Foreign Ministry. Whereupon, a Ministry spokesman phoned me and said a press conference could be arranged. Nobody told me what to say, how to say it".

Report by Alexei Bukalov and Dmitry Pogorzhelsky

Photo by Yuri Rost

Pacta servanda sunt

"Pacts ought to be observed," was the Romans' aphoristic formulation of one of the most ancient principles of international law.

It fully applies, of course, to the latest major international treaty, or rather package of treaties on a settlement in Afghanistan, which was signed in Geneva on April 14 and took effect on May 15.

The Geneva package comprises five documents: two bilateral agreements between Afghanistan and Pakistan – on the Principles of Mutual Relations, in Particular, on Non-interference and Non-intervention and on the Voluntary Return of Refugees, the Soviet-American Declaration on International Guarantees, an Agreement on the Interrelationships for the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan and a Memorandum of Understanding appended to the latter.

The package is intended to protect the Republic of Afghanistan from outside interference in its internal affairs, and violations of the basic principles of international law recorded in the U.N. Charter and later elaborated upon in the special U.N. Declaration on Principles of International Law unanimously adopted by the world community in 1970. There are seven of them.

These indisputable principles of international law began to be violated and trampled upon after social reforms had started in the country, which was extremely backward following the April Revolution of 1978. An undeclared war was unleashed by counterrevolutionaries armed with American and other foreign weapons and operating from bases on Pakistani territory.

The settlement could be achieved, of course, only by fully taking into account the situation that had emerged in and around Afghanistan over the years since the April Revoluton.

The Geneva accords are to remove all the external aspects of the conflict in Afghanistan. After all, the Afghan problems promptly became internationalized. The regional conflict dragged out into a bloody and dangerous war.

To resolve this complex problem it was necessary not only that the interests of all those involved be taken into account and duly balanced, but also that the parties to the conflict should voice their firm commitment to finding a solution. All this did not come easy, and took long negotiations.

Article 2 of the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on the Principles of Mutual Relations enumerates the two countries' commitments in detail. It provides a clear-cut definition of these principles:

"To ensure that its territory is not used in any manner" detrimental to the other party,

"To prevent within its territory the training, equipping, financing and recruitment of mercenaries of whatever origin for the purpose of hostile activities" against the other party, "or the sending of such mercenaries into the territory" of the other party "and accordingly to deny facilities, including financing for the training, equipping and transit of such mercenaries";

"To prevent within its territory the presence, harbouring, in camps and bases or otherwise, organizing, training, financing, equipping and arming of individuals and political, ethnic and any other groups for the purpose of creating subversion, disorder or unrest in the territory" of the other party "and accordingly also to prevent the use of mass media and the transportation of arms, ammunition and equipment by such individuals and groups."

All the commitments of the sides, formalized in the Geneva package documents, are balanced and closely interconnected. Therefore, the legal mechanism they provide for achieving a settlement in Afghanistan will only work if all its elements, so closely interlinked, function simultaneously and in perfect agreement with each other.

The Soviet Union and Afghanistan are fulfilling their commitments, recorded in the accords, to the letter. Soviet troops are returning home in accordance with the schedules agreed upon.

One would look in vain, however, in the world press for reports of the dismantling of the bases of the Afghan armed opposition on Pakistani territory, the closure of the headquarters of the extremist Peshawar Seven groupings and their propaganda centres, or the halting of arms deliveries from there to anti-government forces operating deep inside Afghanistan. Small wonder, too: nothing of the kind is being done.

There is factual evidence that, far from having been discontinued on May 15, interference in Afghan affairs has become more active. The Afghan authorities have repeatedly brought this up in their notes to the government of Pakistan and in memoranda handed over to representatives of the U.N. control bodies. The official Pakistani authorities continue to smuggle armed Afghan opposition units and caravans of arms into Afghanistan over numerous mountain passes. Weapons and ammunition intended for Afghan anti-government forces are delivered to border areas from Pakistani arms depots by Pakistani army vehicles. Rebel unit training centres are as active as ever.

In its May 29 statement, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs reminded all concerned that the Geneva accords centred on ending interference from Pakistani territory and that the agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan became possible in the context of the commitments found in the Afghan-Pakistani agreement on non-interference. The system of the Geneva accords is so well balanced that such an obvious and premeditated violation by Islamabad of its main provision compels us to consider taking some extra measures to protect the interests of the other side.

What about international guarantees? Since it is Pakistan that fails to abide by its commitments, the responsibility is naturally borne by the U.S. The American President was told as much during the recent summit in Moscow.

An international legal framework for a political settlement in Afghanistan – a settlement of vital importance for the Afghan people, for our own people, and for the cause of world peace – has been created by dint of enormous efforts, compromises and bold decisions.

The principle of Pacta servanda sunt is binding on all signatories to the Geneva package.

Rais Tuzmukhamedov,
Professor of International Law

Che

Alexander Alexeyev

Ernesto Che Guevara would have been 60 this year.
He died very young, leaving fond memories of himself.
A romanticist, a freedom fighter, a revolutionary...

I heard of Che for the first time in 1957 when I was working at the Soviet embassy in Argentina. He was extremely popular with young people in Argentina as a leader of the guerrilla war in Cuba against the Batista dictatorship.

Two years later I met him in liberated Havana, where I had arrived as a TASS correspondent early in October 1959. For several months I was the only Soviet citizen in Cuba. I had waited for my entry visa for 6 months and been issued it only after the counterrevolutionary faction of Manuel Urrutia had been ousted from government.

At the time the Soviet people had a very vague idea of the nature of the Cuban revolution and knew next to nothing about its leaders. What information we were getting was largely supplied by U.S. news agencies, although it was clear from their reports that the events in Cuba were very different from the classic Latin American military coups.

My job was to understand the true nature and objectives of the Cuban revolution in order to give Soviet public opinion accurate information.

In order to get to the bottom of the situation, I had to meet with Cuban leaders, and Ernesto Che Guevara was the first of them to receive me. We met late at night on October 12, 1959, at the National Institute of Agrarian Reform, where he headed a section that dealt with industrialization. Our conversation ended at daybreak. Che was very tired. During our conversation he took an inhaler from the breast pocket of his army tunic every 15 minutes and inhaled deeply, as his asthma was beginning to act up. He had suffered from it since childhood.

It was a very friendly conversation between two like-minded people. Che spoke emotionally of the Soviet books he had read: "How the steel was tempered," "The Volokolamsk Highway," "A story about a real man," and "The underground party committee in action." He was the first Cuban leader to give me an insight into the prospects of the Cuban revolutionary process. He told me that he saw no way of achieving full independence for Cuba other than that of building a socialist society and establishing friendly relations with the socialist countries.

I gave Che several packets of a brand of Argentine cigarettes called Texas, which I had bought in Buenos Aires as a present. I had thought that he would like to have something from home, but when he saw the trademark he smiled sardonically and spoke at length of the ways of U.S. imperialism, which had annexed the Mexican state whose name now adorned the cigarette pack. I apologized for my tactlessness.

Che arranged my meeting with Fidel Castro for three days later, on October 16. Fidel confirmed Che's ideas of the revolutionary process in Cuba. He spoke of building a just society free from exploitation, and of arming the people to repel the aggressor. He did not use the term "socialist society," but it was clear to me that this was what he intended to imply.

It would be no exaggeration to say that Che was the achitect of Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation. About a month after our first encounter, Che was appointed President of the Cuban National Bank and, at the request of Fidel Castro, asked the Soviet Foreign Trade Ministry to send a representative to Cuba to conduct negotiations on purchasing Cuban sugar and setting up a Soviet trade mission in Cuba. Soon afterwards the first contract on the export of sugar to the Soviet Union was signed.

Together with Fidel Castro, he organized a Soviet industrial exhibition, which opened in Havana in February 1960. Che held talks with Anastas Mikoyan, who attended the opening ceremony, and as a result the first Soviet-Cuban agreement on economic coop-

Alexander Alexeyev, Soviet ambassador to Cuba (1962–68).

eration was signed. Cuba was given a credit worth 100 million dollars on easy terms. It was then that the Soviet trade mission was opened in Cuba, later to become a trade representation.

After the United States cut off oil supplies to Cuba, an agreement was signed on supplying the country with Soviet oil to meet its entire fuel requirement. According to Che, Cuba saved 20 million dollars as a result.

In July of the same year, after the United States placed an embargo on Cuban sugar, the Soviet Union assumed a pledge to purchase all the sugar the Americans had refused to buy. This saved Cuba from economic ruin.

At the end of 1960, Che (the first Cuban leader to do so) toured the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R., Hungary, China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and concluded economic agreements with these countries.

He visited the Soviet Union on several occasions. He held direct talks with Nikita Khrushchev and Anastas Mikoyan, and always met with understanding on the part of the Soviet side.

In August and September 1962, one month before the Cuban crisis, on the instructions of Fidel Castro he held talks with Nikita Khrushchev on the installation of Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Cuba.

Despite the temporary cooling of Soviet-Cuban relations, and a degree of resentment towards Nikita Khrushchev following the withdrawal of the missiles without the agreement of the Cuban government, Che and the Cuban leadership as a whole gave Moscow considerable credit for its part in saving the Cuban revolution.

Che was directly responsible for cooperation with the socialist countries. He even began to learn Russian.

His commitment to the revolution, his integrity, and his unassuming ways were very appealing. He led an ascetic life and spurned privilege and luxury. It was on his initiative that during the first year of the revolution the movement began in the country for voluntary work on Sundays. Almost every Sunday Che would work at a factory or construction site, or on a cooperative farm.

He drove his car himself and could also fly a plane and operate a sugar cane harvester. When he became President of the National Bank, he took an interest in mathematics and made considerable progress.

Once, at the end of 1959, we were driving in his car to the place where Raul Castro lived. Che was driving and suddenly, when we were passing through the centre of Havana, his car bumped into another. A crowd of his admirers gathered around us immediately. Everybody wanted to help Che. The owner of the car we had bumped into was very pleased about the whole episode. He promised to leave the dent in his car where it was as a memento of his meeting with Che.

Some time later, Che invited me to Oriente Province to attend the celebration of an anniversary of one of the first fightings in the mountains of Sierra Maestra. A four-seater Cessna plane was waiting for us at the airfield. When we climbed it, Che took the pilot's seat and, recalling the recent accident, I felt somewhat uneasy. Che sensed my nervousness and told me that there were very few planes in Cuba and that the chances of bumping into one in midair were very low. He was an excellent pilot.

Once Che and I were talking in his office at the National Bank. He walked to the window and told me that, according to counterintelligence reports, terrorists were planning to shoot him through the window from a house on the opposite side of the narrow street. When I asked him why he exposed himself to such danger, he replied that the terrorists must be certain that he was in his office so that they could be apprehended.

Che was an excellent chess player. He would very often come to the Soviet embassy to play chess, and as a rule he won, every such victory over representatives of the great chess power making him very proud.

On one occasion he did lose to a member of the embassy staff and, tongue in cheek, asked me to send the fellow back to Moscow for showing "lack of diplomatic tact and respect to a leader of the host country." When our grandmasters came to Havana to play simultaneous games, Che would always turn up.

Our final meeting took place at the embassy late in March or early in April 1965, shortly before he left Cuba. I knew that all the members of the Cuban leadership were planning to leave shortly for Camaguey Province to harvest sugar cane. Che told me that he wouldn't be going with them as he had promised the government of Oriente Province to come to them and work on a harvester there.

He said that he alone would be able to harvest more sugar cane than all the other members of the government together, and avoid press and TV men at the same time. Little did I know that Che was leaving Cuba for good to give all the revolutionary fervour of his soul to the liberation struggle.

Pakistan

The military at it again

WHY HAS ZIA UL-HAQ DISMISSED HIS PRIME MINISTER AND DISSOLVED PARLIAMENT?

The latest issue of the Delhi political magazine India Today carried an interview with Prime Minister of Pakistan Mohammad Khan Junejo. As the magazine claimed, it was the first ever interview that the head of the Pakistani government had given a major foreign publication. But it also proved to be the last. On May 29 President Zia ul-Haq announced, at a hastily called press conference, the resignation of the cabinet and the dissolution of the National Assembly.

In a TV and radio speech, the President accused the ex-Premier of many sins: the flourishing of corruption and favouritism, the downgrading of the policy of Islamization....

From Delhi, the events in Pakistan look different. Just over three years ago, Zia ul-Haq carried through the so-called democratization of his military regime, as a result of which Junejo became prime minister of a civilian government. He was little known, not very influential even in his own province of Sind, and had no particular political ambitions. The Prime Minister's attempts to display a degree of independence fitted in with the President's plans to create the illusion of a transition from military dictatorship to democratic rule. It looks as if Junejo himself believed in this illusion, otherwise he would hardly have attempted to reduce the dominating role of the army in the country's political and social life. He sought to get the President to relinquish his duties as Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, and was reluctant to extend the length of service of military personnel loyal to Zia ul-Haq approaching pensionable age, or give them leading posts in the government apparatus. As the Delhi press has pointed out, what clearly worried senior Pakistani military was that after the conclusion of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan, some members of the government and the National Assembly seemed increasingly to favour a cut in the military budget. Another thing that aroused the anger of the military and the President himself were the conclusions reached by the government commission investigating the big explosion at an army arms and ammunition warehouse in Rawalpindi on April 10, causing numerous casualties among the civilian population. While the military command, which conducted its own investigation, concluded that the explosion was an accident, the government commission put the blame on the army leadership...

Zia-ul-Haq had repeatedly stated that Islamabad would sign no agreements with the "unlawful government in Kabul." The former Prime Minister, on the other hand, regarded as one of his achievements the formation of an almost nationwide consensus on the issue of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the need to fulfil the obligations Pakistan had assumed.

The President announced that in keeping with the Constitution, new parliamentary elections would be held within 90 days. He made a similar promise in 1977 when he came to power after a military coup. But the elections actually took place 90 months later. Moreover, at that time the opposition had been effectively deprived of the possibility of taking part in them.

SERGEI IRODOV
our own correspondent
Delhi

Who is to learn from whom?

Singapore is a city where everybody is making money. Why not us?

Sergei Svirin
our special correspondent

When you arrive in a country after an absence of 20 years, you are first of all interested in seeing what has changed and what is still recognizable.

I first came to Singapore in 1965, when the small island state had just attained independence. Properly speaking, the whole country is just one large city. Except for its downtown, it was then a city of squalid streets of ramshackle huts inhabited by Chinese, Malays and Indians. Many people lived on boats, which congested the muddy river flowing through the city...

How can they manage all that?

The appearance of Singapore has changed beyond recognition. It is now one of the four "new industrial countries," or "tigers" as they are often referred to by the Western press – Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Slums with their squalor and poverty have given way to modern residential districts (over half a million inexpensive apartments have been built in Singapore, which has a population of 2.5 million). Nobody lives on boats any longer. Highrises have sprung up. They house banks, companies and luxurious hotels. The city has a metro and its motor traffic is almost pollution-free. The air is fresh, the waterways and streets are clean. Special attention is paid to tidiness and order. Considerable areas have been reclaimed from the sea.

...All this has been done thanks to the industry and business acumen of the people of Singapore and their unrivalled capacity to adjust to the changing situation in the world economy. A constant quest for everything that is new, rational and profitable has perhaps become a characteristic trait of the residents of Singapore.

Tiny Singapore has developed a formidable industry with the assistance of foreign capital investments. And then it started to discard, decisively and without any special regret, whole industries that were showing little profit. It then moved on to new kinds of production based on up-to-date technology. Thus, the electronics and the hi-tech printing industries have been created in cooperation with foreign partners.

Singapore has become one of the big, if not the biggest, financial and commercial centres in the Asian-Pacific region. The port of Singapore rates first in the world for the number of ships that call there and the volume of freight handled. Shipbuilding and ship repair, and a large-capacity oil refining industry can now be classed as traditional Singapore industries.

Singapore reacts promptly to changes in the world market situation. There are plans to make it a centre of the biochemical industry, an industry of the coming century.

How can they manage all that? In different ways. Enterprises operate in two or three shifts, and they impose temporary freeze on the wages of factory and office workers. Local and foreign investors are given an incentive to invest in some industries, while investments in other industries are curtailed or even prohibited. In a word, it is a matter of flexibility.

Singapore is now planning to put hundreds of medium and small firms on the international market to cover whatever ground has been left by transnational corporations in Africa and Latin America, the Middle East and Asia.

Singapore has a highly-skilled labour force and qualified engineers and technicians. It is largely this, along with active trade unions, that ensures rather high living standards.

Early this year, the Singapore parliament decided to set up an institute of political studies. It includes statesmen, scientists, businessmen. They form a brain trust to study and freely discuss all problems of vital importance to the future of the republic, and shape its policy. It has been judged necessary to be guided above all, by the ideas generated by young talent, by those who will live and work in the next century.

An old house

From a window of the hotel I can see an old house darkened by tropical rains. It has miraculously survived in the midst of burgeoning reconstruction activities. It is said its owner, a businessman, is waiting for the price of land and real es

tate to start to rise again to sell it at a profit. The Soviet Union's trading mission opened in that house in 1967. The Soviet embassy was housed there in 1968, when diplomatic relations with Singapore were established.

That house has witnessed important events in the history of Soviet-Singapore relations. It is there that details of an official visit to the Soviet Union by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, were worked out. The visit took place in 1970. The two countries then agreed to develop mutually advantageous economic, scientific and technological cooperation and encourage cultural ties.

A beautiful and convenient building has long been built for the Soviet embassy. The trading mission has moved to another site. A branch of the Moscow Narodny Bank Ltd., an Aeroflot office and a mission of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Merchant Marine have been opened in Singapore in recent years. Soviet vessels make over a thousand calls at the port of Singapore every year. They are serviced by the joint Soviet-Singapore company SINSOV. Another joint company, Morissco, has been set up to process fish and other sea foods...

Now that the Soviet Union's economic mechanism is undergoing restructuring, and intensified foreign economic contacts are needed, the strengthening of our ties with Singapore could be very useful.

One of the most prestigious Singaporean politicians, Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, received me in his office on the 39th floor of a recently built highrise. He is now senior minister in the office of the Prime Minister. I remember him as Singapore's first Foreign Minister. He held that post over many years. I remember him being always ready to meet the press and answer questions put to him by newsmen.

This time the Minister put the questions.

"How is your perestroika campaign going? What is to be achieved by openness? What are the limits to democratization? How strong is Mr Gorbachev's position? What person in the Politburo is responsible for the state of the economy, for heavy industry, for agriculture?"

When the question of changes in the organization of our foreign economic activity came up, Sinnathamby Rajaratnam said: "I have always believed that not a single state, large or small, can exist in economic isolation. Economies must be transnational...

Inability or reluctance?

Another old acquaintance of mine, S.T. Ratnam, told me what demands are made on partnes in economic interstate relations nowadays. He worked with the Ministry of Culture in the 1960s. It was on his initiative that the first group of Soviet art workers visited Singapore. I learned that later he had headed the Singapore tourist promotion board, a very important institution, as tourism brings great profits. Several years ago he retired and immediately became engaged in private enterprise.

He decided to try to set up a Singapore-Soviet joint venture. The idea was to try to tap the potential of the Soviet fishing fleet in the area of Southeast Asia and even beyond it. He set out his proposal in detail in a letter to one of our departments in Moscow. Many months have passed since he mailed the letter, but there has been no answer... At this point, my interlocutor paused slightly, and then, looking me straight in the eye, said: "If you really want to do business with foreign partners, be prompt in replying to business letters, whatever the answer. This is the ABC of business relations. Time is a valuable commodity for a businessman. If his proposal is unacceptable, he can try it somewhere else...

He then picked up the latest yearbook and showed me two underlined indices. One of them was Singapore's foreign trade turnover in 1987: 125 billion Singapore dollars, the other the volume of business with the U.S.S.R.: 360 million Singapore dollars.

"This is less than a third of one per cent of Singapore's overall trade turnover. Isn't this where you should be looking for untapped possibilities? In view of the Soviet Union's economic potential and the right now granted to Soviet enterprises to operate directly on the foreign market, there is room for progress. What is needed is to start working in a new way."

And he counted off on his fingers the areas in which, in his opinion, mutually advantageous commercial cooperation could be established, and joint ventures set up: in fisheries, commerce, the operation of a shipping line to serve the needs of tourist travel all over the Far East and Asia, ship repairs, the storage of Soviet goods to be marketed all over the region...

...It would not be an overstatement to say that everybody in the business world knows Mr G. Ramachandran. His card says: "President of the Singapore Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Vice-President of the ASEAN Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries." Also listed are the companies of which he is director. It should be recalled that there are four Chambers of Commerce in Singapore – the Chinese, Indian, Malay and international. There are over a dozen Chambers of Commerce in the ASEAN countries. It is easy to imagine how wide is the scope of the businessmen with whom G. Ramachandran is connected.

This prestigious businessman gave me in detail the idea of Singapore's significance for world economy. He said proudly that over two decades Singapore has, from being a developing country, become a "new industrial country."

It is for Singapore's activity on the world market that it has been called a "tiger," he said, smiling. The export of industrial products accounts for more than half of currency receipts... All countries, big and small, rich and not so rich, do business in Singapore and earn money. They buy and sell goods, use hi-tech, skilled labour, and the latest achievements of science and technology, and operate effectively in the financial market... And the U.S.S.R. could be economically active and enterprising in Singapore.

"So let us discuss concrete proposals without wasting time on bureaucratic procrastination. Let us give up the previous unproductive practice when representatives of the Soviet foreign economic departments proposed only one kind of exchange, in delegations. Then there were negotiations and toasts to friendship, and that was the end of everything. What remained at best were pleasant memories of people who were good company at a party. I know that many things are now changing in the Soviet Union. Make specific proposals and I promise to render any aid in selecting reliable partners," G. Ramachandran said in conclusion.

Singapore has vast experience of international commercial and economic cooperation. The people of Singapore look forward to being invited to the Soviet Union in the same way as Finns, Austrians, Italians, French and Americans are invited to set up joint ventures. Singapore's companies have much to offer as business partners...

Singapore – Moscow

The Church's secular concerns

An interview with the youngest metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church

"The church's field of operations is special, different from that of the state. It has its own field – the conscience of the believer, and its policy is to protect that conscience from sin." That was how the eminent Russian historian Vasily Klyuchevski defined the duties of the church. But apart from the spiritual realm, there exists a very real and tangible stretch of land on which are situated the 6,800 parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church, its 19 functioning monasteries, three seminaries and two ecclesiastical academies. All this requires constant attention: buildings need to be repaired and restored, the clergy requires robes, and believers have to have icons, candles and many other items.

And it is the job of Metropolitan of Voronezh and Lipetsk Mefodiy to see to it that the Russian Orthodox Church is supplied with everything it needs to function normally. His responsibilities include the restoration of ancient churches, the building of new ones, the production of objets d'art and everything needed for church services.

The youngest metropolitan of the Russian Orthodox Church (he's under forty) has had to spend practically every day over the past few months at the St. Daniel Monastery, which has been chosen by the Russian Orthodox Church as its spiritual-administrative centre.

The builders and restorers have done an enormous job, and on June 12 the monastery that has been brought back to life will be the site of one of the main events in the celebrations of the millennium of the baptism of Rus – the liturgy and service to all the Saints. Among those who are to perform this service is Metropolitan Mefodiy.

Anyone these days can buy the badges, souvenir candles, and anniversary medals bearing the millennium's symbol, the monument to Prince Vladimir in Kiev. They are made at the Moscow Patriarchy's factory in Sofrino, which has a work force of twelve hundred. The factory's icon, jewelry, sewing and candle shops produce both souvenirs and genuine works of art, such as bas-relief icons made of metal with gold and silver coatings. The Sofrino craftsmen also made the first samples of the three new Church orders instituted for the millennium of the baptism of Rus depicting the Apostle Andrei Pervozvanniy, the Russian Princess Olga, equal to the apostles, and the Moscow Prince Daniel.

The Russian icon is one of the most valuable contributions to the treasurehouse of world culture. The priest, philosopher, mathematician and engineer Pavel Florensky described icons as "windows on eternity," maintaining that "acute sense of the reality of the spiritual world pierces your soul like a blow, a searing burn, suddenly amazing almost everyone who sees some sacred works of the icon painters for the first time.

Artists are working on icons of Princess Olga, Prince Vladimir, and St. Sergius of Radonezh, which are to be presented to the heads of the foreign delegations.

"It is most important that the centuries-old tradition of painting icons should not be broken off, that it should be preserved and developed," Metropolitan Mefodiy said. "Because it was icons that illustrated the unique historical and spiritual development of Russia. They prompt people to think deeply about life and its meaning, and promote the spiritual development of the individual."

"New opportunities are being opened up before the Church. How do you propose to use them?"

"We are considering the restoration of Moscow churches which are not functioning at present. On a cooperative basis we shall take part in their restoration together with state organizations specializing in construction and restoration.

"It might sound strange coming from the lips of a churchman, but I believe that if a church cannot be used for services, it should be turned not into a warehouse for fuel or similar materials, but say into a museum or concert hall. Life must be breathed into church building. Because churches are part of our history, our national pride. The Russian Orthodox Church will participate most actively in such work, a much-needed, useful and patriotic undertaking. And we have to hurry. Because if we do not make use of all the opportunities to save remarkable architectural works, soon there will be nothing left to save.

"On the whole I hope that in its second millennium the Russian Church will follow the path from which in recent years it was undeservedly barred. It must take part in different areas of social life and engage in works of charity and mercy. Mutual respect, mutual tolerance and mutual help are the relations we call for from the altars of our churches and which we believe are the missing link that would unite our society."

OLGA BAI

The Motions of the Central Committee of the CPSU for the 19th All-Union Party Conference approved by the May plenary meeting of the CC CPSU are the subject of nationwide discussion. People are taking a long hard look at the conceptual basis of the socialist movement, its past and future, and thinking about ways to make perestroika irreversible.

As the document says, "We must restore in full the principles of scientific socialism under which man becomes the main factor – in actual fact, not in words – in material and cultural development."

The separation of powers

Alexei Trusov, Cand. Sc. (Law)

Society is a living and developing organism in which all its elements and subsystems are closely interlinked and mutually conditioned, presupposing harmony between them. That is why a profoundly systemic, comprehensive approach is needed in tackling all the problems of restructuring society and the state. In this matter, palliatives and patch-up measures are clearly counterindicated, for they usually prove ineffective.

The development of socialist democracy, too, calls for a comprehensive approach, as the Motions stress.

The Soviet State is fundamentally different from all previous types of state in its social and political nature and mission. It is the state of the whole people in which political power belongs to all the working people. It acts in the interests of the whole of society, the whole people. Our state is fundamentally new in form as well. It is not a parliamentary republic, but a republic of Soviets, which makes it possible to have the highest type of democracy by implementing self-government of the people and making these principles the GUIDING principles in the life of the state and society.

The fact of the existence of the state inevitably imposes certain restrictions on freedom and democracy. It is not by chance that Friedrich Engels made ironic comments on the absurdity of combining the words "freedom" and "state." Lenin stressed that "so long as the state exists there is no freedom. When there is freedom, there will be no state."

Even under socialism, those who wield power are able in one way or another to take many important decisions "on behalf of the people." Those of them who are not of the highest probity thus gain access to social wealth and can get the choicest slices of the national cake. Vivid proof of this was provided by the recent revelations of practices in Uzbekistan and some other places, where power was often used for personal gain.

The fact that power can be used to further the selfish interests of a person or group makes many under socialism seek to gain and maintain power. The whole of Soviet history has been marked by such struggles, and the same is true of the history of building socialism in some other countries. The strugge has, unfortunately, claimed many human lives and vital resources.

In the early years of Soviet government, especially at the start of the New Economic Policy, the Party, led by Lenin, tried to ensure that the new (the principle of socialist self-government of the people, the involvement of the working people in running the country) should be the prevalent trend in the development of the young state. At that time the new was dramatically gaining ground on the old.

The administrative-command system that prevailed for many years obviously ran counter to these trends. At a certain period, socialist self-government of the people was curtailed, and was subsequently abandoned altogether (as allegedly being a revisionist course of development).

The lack of the new trends was particularly felt in the mid-1930s. The introduction of a series of unconstitutional, undemocratic, essentially emergency decrees and other acts paved the way for mass repressions. During those years the administrative-command system actually degenerated into an autocracy, a form of government in which one person has unlimited and absolute power (like the old Oriental tyrannies). This form fully met the definition of emergency rule.

The founders of Marxism considered that for the revolutionary class which had gained power, emergency rule which gave all power

to one body or even one person, was permissible and justified only as a "temporary revolutionary order" in extreme conditions (the aggravation of the class struggle, civil war, the need to repel a foreign invasion and so on).

The provisional revolutionary form of government does indeed imply **substantial** restrictions on openness, publicity and democracy in any form. It implies the concentration of administrative functions in a single centre. Engels stressed that in such situations "the separation of legislative, administrative and judiciary powers between corresponding independent bodies is provisionally abolished." As a result, it may happen that "the legislative authority seizes executive power, or that the executive authority seizes legislative power for the time being."

In this country, we have witnessed the worst case: in effect all the reigns of power were usurped by the executive bodies of the Party and the State, i.e.,by the administration. This, owing to its structure and functioning (strict hierarchy, subordination of organizations and functionaries vertically and horizontally, the presence of rank, which confers certain privileges on the holder and in practice encourages rank worship, careerism and the like), as distinct from all elective bodies (Soviets, courts, etc.) was, and still is, the chief refuge for the apparatus disease called bureaucracy.

No emergency measures, however much they limit democracy, are capable of eliminating the struggle for power, for leadership. Any curtailment of openness and democracy can merely exclude the people from this struggle and place it beyond the control of society, of the broad masses of the people. It can force the power struggle underground and thus lend it a distorted group character. This offers the most favourable conditions for the monopolization of power in the hands of a clique which violates all legal and moral rules, and represses or destroys its opponents, especially those who aspire to power.

Despite the separation of legislative, executive and judiciary powers proclaimed by the Constitution of 1936 and especially the Constitution of 1977, the executive branch (administrative apparatus) continues to play the key role in almost all spheres of state and social life. To all intents and purposes, the administrator is his own jurist, law-maker and judge.

This happens because executive power, various kinds of department and an overblown bureaucracy have usurped the power which in the early years after the October 1917 Revolution belonged to the Soviets. These have been so deformed and adjusted to the interests, tastes and needs of the administrative apparatus that it is sometimes difficult to say whether the Executive Committee (of the Soviet) is subordinate to the Soviet or vice versa.

Let us look at the composition of the Soviets.Very often their members are "bosses" and "yes-men," and not public-spirited people who are prepared to uphold the interests of the people. Even in the present Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., 40 per cent are administrators of some sort, and the other large group is made up of ordinary farmers, textile workers, and so on. There are only two professional laweyrs.

The third branch of government (the courts of law, the whole juridical system, the protection of legality and social justice) has been weakened and rendered all but impotent in the face of the administrative branch. Its authority in society has plummeted. Instead of providing a counterweight to arbitrary administration, a barrier to all violations of legality and social justice, it has become a maidservant of executive power. In many cases it has given a legislative blessing to the abuses being perpetrated. Things have reached a point where not only socially active ordinary citizens who dared "make trouble" by revolting against stagnation, mismanagement, bureaucratic perversions, the abuse of power and social injustice, but even sometimes the guardians of legality and social justice themselves – judges, prosecutors and investigators – have become victims of the omnipotent officialdom and bureaucracy.

In the era of glasnost, we cannot keep silent about the fact that investigators, prosecutors and judges have been, and still are, subjected to pressure from executive bodies, and that the guardians of the law are only theoretically independent of the local authorities.

The declining prestige of the courts of law, justice and other services for the protection of legality and social justice have led to the declining prestige of the Law in general. For it has always been identified above all with the court of law and the judiciary as a whole.

The bureaucrat, who has had the opportunity to pass off his own opinion or at best the opinion of his department, for the "opinion of the people," has in fact acquired a monopoly on the truth. He often claims the role of chief ideologist, exponent of the interests and will of all social strata, the whole people. It is to the bureaucrat that we owe some widespread misconceptions about socialism. He has instilled into many minds the attitude of superstitious reverence for the state, its ministries, and departments, for bureaucracy, and rank and status. This anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist ideology and mentality, expressing the interests and tastes of the bureaucracy, have become widespread and assumed various forms.

The habit of "holding the reigns tight," of being the highest judge in every matter, of resorting to crude pressure developed by many administrators over the years of authoritarian, undemocratic government made many ordinary workers feel that they were "little men," mere cogs in a machine, and that they had no business meddling in affairs that were for the bosses to decide. This attitude of mindless passivity affected lower-ranking bureaucrats as well.

By way of summing up, the following has to be said: when the survival of a newly born state is at stake, or the country must be saved from conquest by a ruthless invader or the like, the concentration of power and combination of incompatible functions in the hands of a single body or person are a necessary, inevitable, but **temporary** evil.

However, the same evil becomes intolerable and dangerous to society and the state when the state is strong enough, when, in the context of a firmly established government, everything cries out for a departure from the authoritarian, i.e., emergency form of government in favour of normal government, normal rule through flexible, democratic methods and levers.

Economic reform, democratization, renewal in the intellectual sphere – all these are links in the same chain. The

conomic reforms of the 1950s and 960s failed because they did not go far nough and did not touch the political tructures, and many ideological, cul- ural and moral aspects. Perestroika ust cover all spheres, including the key phere – the political system.

The ideological back-up to the reform f the political structures should proba- ly begin with the overturning of the deology and psychology of worshipful everence for the state, and the restora- on and reaffirmation of Marxist-Leninist deas about the socialist state, its role in uilding and improving the new society.

One of the most widespread tenets of ne outdated ideology is that the socialist tate (unlike any exploitative state) au- omatically guarantees the triumph of emocracy, legality and social justice. ence the arrogant rejection of allegedly ourgeois age-old safeguards of the nor- al management of the affairs of society nd the state such as the separation of owers and functions between the legis- tion, the executive bodies and the diciary. The experience of many na- ons has shown that wherever these in- mpatible functions are merged and ncentrated in a single body, or in the nds of a single person, the level of or- nization in administration invariably eclines and lawlessness and arbitrari- ss hold sway.

"It is a great advance to treat the polit- al state as an organism and therefore look upon the variety of authorities no nger as something inorganic, but as a ing and rational differentiation," wrote arx.

On the eve of the 19th Party Confer- nce, the Party is setting itself the task of anging the political structure in order create a mechanism of power and overnment with "efficient democratic ontrol and corresponding legal proce- ures that would greatly reduce, or al- gether exclude, arbitrary element in re- olving key political and government is- ues, along with the possibility of subjec- ivism at all the levels of our political sys- m."

This pressing problem cannot be re- olved without creating a situation where ere remain no real opportunities in the hole mechanism of the state for the ex- essive concentration, let alone onopolization of power in one particu- r department, apparatus or body. This the imperative: we must exclude the oncentration of incompatible functions the hands of a single body or official.

In my opinion, the country needs to re- ore a party-and-government body ong the lines of the Central Control ommission – Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, a joint body that existed from 1923 to 1934.

The "separation of powers" within the Party leadership can provide a firm guarantee against the bureaucratization of party bodies, its functionaries and leaders, but only if there is a general democratization of Party life, if the Party is an active, self-governing and living organism. To this end, a series of important measures will have to be carried out.

Party congresses and conferences should be held far more frequently. This will undoubtedly stimulate party members and the whole Party.

The principle of rotation and continuity of Party leadership must be observed. In this respect, I think it would be useful to take a closer look at the experience of the Communists in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who have introduced a mandate system in elections to the leading Party bodies. The principle of rotation and continuity of leadership should also be applied in the election of government bodies and the leading bodies of non-government organizations.

It is high time the election procedure to Party bodies were made more democratic. The **nomenklatura** has outlived itself. I am convinced that candidates for office should be chosen and nominated not from a narrow circle of apparatchiks ignoring the opinions of members of the primary Party organization, but through an open discussion of candidates' merits by party and non-party members at open party meetings.

I would even hazard a "heretical" idea: in the country at large we must guarantee the freedom to dissent, the chance publicly to express one's disagreement with decisions or laws and to uphold one's own opinion.

Incidentally, in Lenin's lifetime, our Party allowed dissent within its ranks. Witness the following statement of Lenin: "When the majority has taken a definite stand, the minority must submit to it in its political conduct, while retaining the right to criticize and to advocate a settlement of the question at the next congress." These ideas were elaborated in the resolution of the 9th All-Russia Conference of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), "On the Immediate Tasks of Party Building" (1920) which read in part: "Inside the Party we have to level a more extensive criticism at both local and central Party bodies. The Central Committee is to be advised to circulate instructions as to the ways of broadening intra-Party criticism at general meetings. We must start literary publications capable of criticizing the Party's errors more systematically and on a wider scale, and of voicing intra-Party criticism in general (discussion sheets, etc.), for which purpose a special discussion sheet has to be launched in the centre, by the Central Committee's paper Izvestia. It might be advisable as well for the provincial Committees' Izvestia papers to start issuing similar discussion sheets." And further: "Under no circumstances should the comrades disagreeing with this or that Party decision be subjected to any repressions whatsoever."

* * *

The ways that have been put forward of dealing with the questions and problems raised by experience and by perestroika, do not claim to be final or unassailable.

PRIVATE OPINION

GAVRIIL POPOV, D.Sc. (Econ.)

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has passed the Law on Cooperatives. It is the most drastic act since the adoption of the Law on State Enterprise (Association), and makes a breech in the stone wall of opposition to perestroika. By the same token, it marks a new step towards developing an effective system of economic management.

However, the Supreme Soviet failed to reject resolutely the system of taxation proposed by the Ministry of Finance. Under this system, a member of a cooperative will in some cases have to pay all his extra income in taxes (90 per cent in income tax, 1 per cent in trade union dues, 6 per cent in bachelor tax, 3 per cent in Party dues, total: 100 per cent). The blow is directed not only at would-be speculators but at all efficient work, as no one likes to work for nothing. This is not a way of increasing the national wealth but a punitive measure, a constraint on the cooperative movement as such.

And yet the movement will now have a solid basis and will get off the ground. A state-run café will not withstand competition with a cooperative one if it does not enjoy the same degree of independence and is unable to pay its employees the same wages. You can't keep a worker at an engineering plant unless the plant switches to a system that will enable the machine operator to work well and to earn well. To this end, it is necessary to promote the cost-accounting system, and free state enterprises of the shackles imposed on them by the government ministries and economic departments. In short, the development of cooperatives is bound to force the government sector to reorganize.

In the future, I see a Law on Socialist Enterprise – whether state-run or cooperative – with the same rights, the same taxation system and the same wage scale. Socialist and effective.

How perestroika reached Sakhalin

Documentary record of an emergency

The cast: The Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee, a journalist, a lathe operator, the Bureau of the Regional CPSU Committee, a reader from Chelyabinsk, 4,800 people in a city stadium, members of the staff of the State Committee on Radio and TV, and others.

The time: The end of May and the beginning of June, 1988.

The place: Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk and Moscow.

The TASS report:

"A plenary meeting of the Sakhalin Region CPSU Committee has taken place. The plenary meeting considered the application of P.I. Tretyakov that he be relieved of his duties as First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee for health reasons and pensioned off."

(Pravda, May 30)

"Comrades, what kind of emergency has taken place on the island? I used to live in Sakhalin, and I would like to know what is going on."

"Where are you calling from?"

"I am in Chelyabinsk. I would like to know the facts and details. Why has he resigned? As far as I know, he never complained about his health. My friends in Sakhalin wrote to me that he had been elected a delegate to the national Party conference."

(A telephone conversation at the New Times editorial office)

Let us turn to the facts

May 19. The correspondent of the State Committee on Radio and TV, Vladimir Mezentsev, appeared on regional radio and proposed to the residents of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk that they take part in the "Spotlight on Perestroika" programme regularly shown on national TV. This particular programme would highlight problems of social justice and the results of the elections to the national Party conference.

"Interest in the programme was encouraged by reports that the local procurator's office is allegedly carrying out an inquiry into the distribution of apartments, and that the inquiry concerns the family of the First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee."

(Sovetskaya Rossiya, June 1)

At the Regional CPSU Committee.

"Taking advantage of his status as correspondent for the State Committee on Radio and TV, Vladimir Mezentsev made a statement on local radio in which he called on residents to hold a rally in a square of the regional capital and speak out about the procedure whereby delegates are elected to the national Party conference.

At the same time, he claimed without any grounds whatsoever that the regional procurator's office is conducting an inquiry into the case of the First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee. Later that report was carried by the national radio service."

(Sovetskii Sakhalin, May 22)

"Of course I did not storm the national TV service at Ostankino. Nor did I take over the radio stations in Sakhalin. My intention to speak to city residents about social justice in the region, and my statement on the radio about something that concerns not only myself but thousands of Sakhaliners, I mean the elections to the Party conference, rubbed up local officials the wrong way."

(Excerpt from a letter from Vladimir Mezentsev to New Times)

May 21. About a thousand people responded to Vladimir Mezentsev's appeal and gathered in the square in front of the Drama Theatre to take part in the filming. People were talking and the host barely managed to interview all those who wanted to speak out. A makeshift rostrum was put together and somebody produced a loudspeaker. The gathering became a rally.

"What were we talking about? We were talking about all the burning issues, from leaky roofs to the privileges of officials..."

(Sovetskaya Rossia, June 1)

Background information:

Sakhalin is an island situated between the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan. Together with the Kuril Islands, it is the most remote part of the U.S.S.R. It takes up an area of 87,100 sq. km., and has a population of 670,000. The island's economy relies on the fishing and sea food industry, the extraction of coal and oil, and cattle breeding.

According to reports in the press, in recent five-year-plan periods, discrepancies have appeared in the economic structure of the region and in the social sphere. Standards of labour mechanization are low and the construction of badly needed cultural centres and medical facilities is slow. One in seven families is on the waiting list for a new apartment. The island supplies oil and gas to the continent but there is not enough fuel for its own industries. The centre of the fishing industry is short of fish for local consumption. A quarter of all rivers where fish spawn are polluted by industrial effluents.

"The residents of the island who gathered at the rally on May 21 were also angry at numerous instances of a bureaucratic and perfunctory approach on the part of local officials when dealing with pressing problems and pointed to the cost-intensive mechanism of economic management in the island. Many people spoke on these problems at the rally. They also said that many officials ignore public opinion and the press and that they constantly abuse their office in an extremely unseemly way which gives Soviet government on the island a bad name. Without my taking any special effort, but merely discharging my duties as a correspondent, I could see that many of these grievances are justified."

(Excerpt from a letter from Vladimir Mezentsev to New Times)

The First Secretary of our Regional Party Committee, Pyotr Ivanovich Tretyakov, issued an order that he b

elected to the national Party conference. The elections were held secretly, the principle of the secret ballot was abused, and there was no broad discussion of nominees."

(Excerpt from an interview with a member of the Bureau of the Sakhalin Regional CPSU Committee, lathe operator V. Maslov, to the prime-time current affairs TV programme Vremya)

Having discussed the local state of affairs, speakers at the rally came to the conclusion that the current administration of the region was unable to lead the economic and social sphere out of its present state of stagnation or assure the strict observance of law and the norms of socialist life. The rally elected an eight-member working group.

"You must appeal to superior organizations and convey to them our consensus that the elections to the national Party conference were undemocratic.

A week from now, on May 28, we shall gather to hear your report on the results of our action."

(Excerpt from the rally's direction to the working group, May 21)

Immediately after the rally, and before the return of P.I. Tretyakov from a business trip, the Bureau of the Regional CPSU Committee summoned the activists in the city Party organization to discuss the rally and its "sponsors."

The meeting of the Party activists came to the conclusion that the demands of many speakers at the rally were justified. Those responsible for the economic and social problems on the island were named.

May 22. P.I. Tretyakov hastily returned to the city from a business trip and immediately the above report appeared in the local newspaper, under the rubrik "In the Regional CPSU Committee."

An urgent message was sent to Moscow.

"P.I. Tretyakov immediately notified the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Radio and TV about my 'unseemly behaviour.' I was recalled to Moscow and the material I prepared for the programme was vetoed. I was suspended from appearing on TV and advised to apologize to P.I. Tretyakov in writing and admit that I had made a mistake due to lack of experience."

(Excerpt from a letter from Vladimir Mezentsev to New Times)

At the same time, a second meeting of Party activists was held in the regional capital, and this time it was also attended by economic managers and the First Secretary of the Regional CPSU Committee. The meeting discussed the situation and came to the conclusion that the election campaign in the region had not followed a proper course, and that there had been insufficient openness and democracy.

"The cases of social injustice must be acknowledged and the hospital, the hotel and the holiday hotel 'Lesnoye Ozero' must be handed over to the City Executive Committee."

(Excerpt from the ruling of the meeting of Party activists and economic managers as reported in the press)

At that meeting the First Secretary of the Regional Party Committee acknowledged his own unseemly behavior, and admitted that he had "organized" an apartment for a relation of his.

May 27. The Regional CPSU Committee held a special session. The agenda of the session was to discuss the letters and applications addressed to centarl and local Party bodies and the media over the decision of the 10th plenary meeting of the Regional CPSU Committee on the election of delegates to the national Party conference.

Since we are not in possession of the minutes of this plenary meeting, its only upshot we know is that it accepted the resignation of P.I. Tretyakov.

May 28. Another rally was held in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk to hear the report of the eight-member working group. The rally was held in the central stadium of the city and attended by 4,800 people carrying banners with slogans in support of restructuring and the Leninist interpretation of socialism. The rally adopted a resolution of full support for the CPSU Central Committee policy of perestroika, democratization and openness.

The rally supported the civic stand of the correspondent of the State Committee on Radio and TV. It called for his reinstatement as correspondent in Sakhalin and unanimously conferred the title of Honorary Citizen of Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk on him.

"I thought for a long time about the recommendation that I aplogize to the First Secretary and admit that I had made a mistke. I felt that I had nothing to apologize for, and refused to follow the recommendation. On May 25 I was removed from my post 'for having violated the ethics of journalism.' The videotapes, my recorded interviews with Sakhalin Communists and a report by the special investigator of the local procurator's office who conducted the inqiury into the abuses of office by P.I. Tretyakov confirmed that the stand I had taken as a journalist was correct, but they were all dismissed as unconvincing."

(Excerpt from a letter from Vladimir Mezentsev to New Times)

Background information:

The Sakhalin correspondent of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Radio and TV is the author of the full-length documentary "Trust." For that film, and for his contribution to the national TV programmes "The World and the Young," "The 12th Floor," "Can I have the Floor?", "The Searcher" and others, he was awarded four international festival prizes. The citations praised his "active civic stand and innovative approach." According to a poll conducted by the national evening daily Izvestia, Vladimir Mezentsev is one of the best Soviet TV journalists of the past year.

"A few days ago debates took place in Sakhalin, and as a result the Regional CPSU Committee held a plenary meeting to consider the opinions of non-Party workers and Communists. The plenary meeting said that their suggestions and demands were justified, and admitted the need to reinforce the Party leadership of the region. It adopted the decisions needed to enable the process of democratization to gather momentum in Sakhalin. Perestroika has reached Sakhalin."

(Excerpt from a statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev at a news conference on the results of the Soviet-American summit in Moscow)

June 3. Excerpt from a conversation with the head of the correspondent staff of the U.S.S.R. State Committee on Radio and TV Alexander Antsiferov:

"What is the fate of your Sakhalin correspondent?"

"The collegium of the State Committee has just held a session to consider his case. It was confirmed that he remains our own correspondent in Sakhalin."

"How does that square with the decision taken by the collegium on May 25?"

"There was no decision by the collegium. Vladimir made a mistake. On May 25 the collegium discussed the possibility of punishing him 'for violations of the ethics of journalism,' but no decision was taken in view of the absence of the chairman of the committee."

"What is going to happen now?"

"Vladimir is leaving for Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk."

* * *

This record is meant to be confined to facts and be free of comment and assessments.

We feel, however, that some commentary is needed here. In our view, what took place in Sakhalin is a good illustration of the complexity and drama attendant on restructuring, the establishment of new thinking, and the working people developing an awareness of their right to be actively involved in dealing with the crucial issues of political and social life.

Compiled by

YURI SHEVCHENKO

We are forty-five

Lev Bezymensky

"No ovation, please." I quote an immortal character from a Soviet novel, although, frankly, I wouldn't mind an ovation in the least. Early this June we celebrated the 45th anniversary of our magazine, initially called The War and the Working Class and only later given its present meaningful name which imposes a great responsibility. However, the reputation of a periodical is least of all the sum of its official anniversary celebrations, and it is not for these celebrations' sake that we journalists have shouldered, of our own free will, the burden of our difficult profession. It's far from easy to be a "vox populi," still less so in our times.

I often ask myself what it was that made the magazine The War and the Working Class so much talked about both within and beyond our country. The answer is that we told our readers the truth – sometimes bitter – about international affairs, about the second front, and our complex relations with the allies. That made a real sensation then – in the good sense of the word. Now, 45 years later, the tradition is back. Our society has entered an exciting period, a period of discarding untruths and half-truths. The secret is as simple as that.

But to think how difficult it is to use this secret! As we look back over the past forty-five years, we see something else: namely, that the truth in journalism is not the whole story. You've got to be able to tell it. Mind you, the truly momentous features which appeared in The War and the Working Class (and in New Times) were the work of first-class experts.

Can a look through the files of New Times help one reconstruct the picture of international situation as it was? I think it can. Even if one makes allowances for the fact that the picture will require correction at times. But it is of no small importance to know how people saw the situation in, say, the fifties or the sixties. Knowing this, a future historian will feed various "views" of events into a computer and obtain a three-dimensional reconstruction of the past. I say all this deliberately for the benefit of those who are prepared, in the heat of polemic, to dismiss past stages of Soviet policy as simply non-existent. But you cannot wish them away just like that. They remain part of our history, a reminder and a lesson.

On the three pages that follow, you will meet with your old acquaintances – writers on political and social affairs, scientists, politicians and public figures – who have been among New Times' regular contributors in the past. I hope that those working with New Times now will find this meeting useful – it will remind them of the high standard of professional journalism which ought to be maintained by our magazine rather than regarded as a property of its past. To "master" past traditions and promote them at a new level is a constant and extremely difficult task.

It is not only New Times staff writers who ponder over the crisis of Soviet international affairs journalism (and crisis is the word). Therefore it is useful to recall the lessons of the past and the experience we have gained by trial and error. A journalism divorced from reality which tries to force it into set patterns – is what we were engaged in for years without knowing it. It was not the real world but a world of our invention that we projected, and our readers forgave us that.

Summing up and looking ahead

But now, times have changed. Many things (though not all) can now be called by their proper names and on our own responsibility. But the paradox is that the going has become harder in the age of glasnost. Life was so much easier when everyone knew what limits to keep within. And now it turns out that it takes plenty of guts to use the much-coveted freedom of speech. Even if our writers on international affairs manage to wriggle out of their clichés, they will have a long way to go before they catch up in openness with their colleagues dealing with domestic problems, and it will be still too early to start cheering.

We have no right to forget about the enormous responsibility borne by the press at a time of new foreign policy thinking. Soviet initiatives in this field offer us a good example to follow. Let's not be overly modest about it – the press has a vital role to play here. To use Ales Adamovich's phrase, we need some kind of "super-journalism" which will give the general public a better understanding of matters of war and peace, relationships between social systems, and the prerequisites for a nuclear-free, non-violent world. It is only those who have a good knowledge and keen sense of their time who are equal to such journalism. I don't mean a journalism of "supra-class all-forgiveness" but a razor-sharp printed word intolerant of opponents to peace. The way I see it, our magazine, which discusses things with Soviet and foreign readers on an equal footing, is just right for such super-journalism.

This kind of journalism stands much greater chances of materializing now than it did 45 years ago. The very range of the coverage of international affairs has widened. There are new magazines, both serious and popular, and there is such an omnipotent mass medium as television. Our own magazine also keeps abreast of the times – it has now become much richer in content, larger in size, and much more attractive to the eye than it used to be. But is that what real journalism means? But aren't we too keen on photographs and fancy layouts, which are hardly substitutes for deep analyses, original views and wealth of information? We often ask ourselves these questions and try not only to philosophize but, in our own way, to answer the challenge of the time.

Finally, about ovations again. Our reader – patient, loyal, writing encouraging, critical and, occasionally, indignant letters to us – certainly deserves them.

NEW TIMES

45

There was a time before **Georgy Arbatov** headed the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies and held the title of Academician.

On November 7, 1941, as an 18-year-old lieutenant, he marched through Red Square with the column of the First Moscow Artillery School that inaugurated the military parade. After taking part, with the rank of captain, in the operation to free Cherkassy in the Ukraine, he applied to join the Institute of International Relations, upon graduating from which he joined the staff of the publishers of Inostrannaya Literatura and the journal Voprosy Filosofii. Subsequently, in 1957, he joined the staff of our magazine.

"I daresay," he notes, "that I never wrote so much and with such delight as when I was on New Times. In fact, I remember a ditty about me at one of the office parties that went roughly as follows:

"'Be of health,
And lead a rich life.
As much as Arbatov
See that you write.'"

When he assumed the office of director of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies in 1968 he undertook studies of the North American continent as a full-time researcher.

"My first visit to the U.S. was in 1969. Heaven knows why, but nothing surprised me, perhaps, because I was engrossed in my work, not in the emotional response.

"But I must say that America is always in a state of flux – as we are too. I think that today it stands on the threshold of change and that it can look forward to its own perestroika and its own glasnost.

"Recently your magazine has been acquiring its own image. But what has always upset me, and what continues to upset me, is that the general reader has a very inadequate idea of it. The impression is that the magazine is exclusively for an audience interested in foreign policy. For which reason I hope that the general reader will get to know it better."

If you want to see the material incarnation of the Voice of Moscow, the man for you is **Gennady Gerasimov,** chief of the information department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. However, it was New Times that gave Gerasimov that voice.

"After graduating from the Institute of International Relations, I took a postgraduate course, but was unable to complete it as in the mid-1950s I was invited to join the staff of your magazine, which was being expanded at the time," he says. "My first job was as a write-up man in the section dealing with criticism and bibliography which, sad to say, no longer exists. When Natalya Sergeyeva, who was the editor-in-chief at the time, took me on, she told not to write a single line for Radio Moscow, as it would be pure hackwork. So before putting down a single word, I most painstakingly dissected whatever I was going to write. I am still that rational journalist, who can never inject any emotion into a story. I think my purpose acheived when the reader feels I have left something unsaid, which means there is a chance that he will reflect on what he has read. I am grateful to New Times for teaching me that."

Gerasimov practised his journalistic creed on the newspaper Trud and the journal World Marxist Review. Subsequently he leaped into the limelight as editor-in-chief of Moscow News and host of the International Panorama TV programme.

A VETERAN EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

She missed the start of the 20th century by only a few months. Yet, New Times may be largely considered her child, and not just because of age. For years **Natalya Sergeyeva** was editor-in-chief of New Times, which she had been with from its earliest days.

"My journalistic career was sheer chance," she says. "When I graduated from the social sciences department in law and economics in 1921, I was for a time out of work. So I contracted to gather material for the encyclopaedia of the Red International of Labour Unions. I soon became executive secretary of the International Committee of Revolutionary Printers. Then I was on the Berlin staff of the Central European Bureau of the Red International of Labour Unions. From 1932 on I was with Pravda's foreign department. This was a time of tragic ordeals and the Pravda staff was also hit.

"However," she continues, "we could not have believed that they – I mean the arrests – could assume such proportions. First Koltsov was arrested, then several of his deputies and assistants, and then others. We did not even allow it to cross our minds that it was sheer villainy, that innocent people were suffering.

"In 1943 Molotov invited me to join New Times as a deputy editor-in-chief. Otto Kuusinen, subsequently a CPSU Central Committee Secretary, contributed signally to founding the magazine. At the time we published things which no other publication could take. Lev Bezymensky's celebrated documentary sketches were exclusively ours. Of course, many odd things happened too.

"I remember how one day a colleague, Lev Sheidin, submitted a story about China, which we took a fancy to. But when it reached Molotov he rubbished it completely and said it had to be rewritten. But as he had not specified anything definite, Sheidin took the liberty of changing the heading and sending it back 'upstairs,' upon which Molotov okayed it."

For long Natalya Sergeyeva was the magazine's de facto head. Subsequently, in 1956, she was appointed editor-in-chief, which post she held until her retirement.

In the 1970s he spent six years in the U.S. as Novosti Press Agency correspondent. His observations are recorded in two books, "The Back of the Statue of Liberty" and "The Consumer Society: Fact and Fancy."

Pavel Naumov, who was editor-in-chief of New Times from 1969 to 1976, is of the generation who volunteered for the fighting front straight from the lecture hall. After four years of active service, he joined the Foreign Ministry press division. He then was Pravda correspondent in the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. After some time with the international department of the CPSU Central Committee, he began his time as editor-in-chief of our magazine.

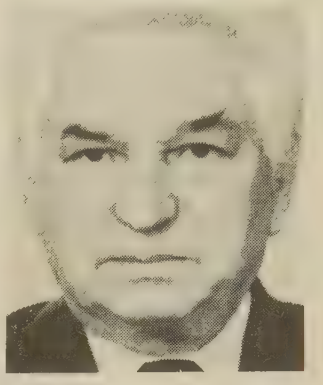
"I regret having spent only seven years on New Times, a magazine I loved both before I joined it, and when I was there. The staff were dynamic and I can't remember a single case of anyone idling.

"I think my time on your magazine was the happiest in my life as a journalist. I must say that there is much that is novel in it today.

"For ten years I worked with the Novosti Press Agency, first as deputy chairman and subsequently as chairman of the board, before retiring two years ago. I am working for the Soviet Peace Committee, but what I see as paramount for myself nowadays is the urge to understand the tremendous changes occurring in our society, and not to feel that I have withdrawn into a quiet backwater.

Mikhail Fyodorov worked as editor-in-chief of New Times from 1976 to 1986.

After graduating from the Moscow Aviation Institute in 1942, he worked at an aircraft-building plant for some years before entering the Higher Diplomatic School in 1945. After that he had the option of taking up a diplomatic career or working for TASS. He chose the second, and from 1948 till 1953 was on the TASS New York, and subsequently, Washington bureaus as the only Soviet newsman in the U.S. capital then. Another five years were spent in London reporting on life in the U.K. In 1963 he was invited to work for the weekly Za Rubezhom, and



in January 1970, he joined New Times.

"I was with the magazine during that period known as 'stagnation,'" he said, "when one could do very little. But I always believed it should mirror international events. I remember our trying to introduce a cover in colour in 1979. Of course, we had to do it in advance and we had scheduled the experiment for March 8, International Women's Day. The front cover portrayed women of various nationalities in colourful dress, while the back cover showed episodes from Vietnamese life under the title 'The Peaceful Endeavour of Vietnam.' However, a mere three days before publication hostilities broke out on the Sino-Vietnamese border and we had to scrap the cover.

"What I like most is information that analyzes, as I have no regard for articles which are just baldly assertive. On the newspaper Za Rubezhom, of which I have now been editor-in-chief for two years, I always try to ensure truthful information."

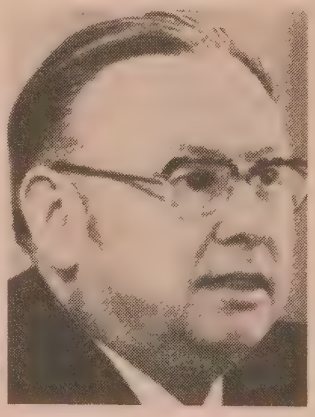
Valentin Berezhkov, D. Sc. (Hist.), today editor-in-chief of the journal U.S.A.: Economics,

FROM "THAW" TO DECELERATION

I joined the staff of New Times late in 1954 after several years as one of its contributors. It was an eventful time, what with the 20th Party Congress, the first steps towards reduced tension, the first high-level contacts with the U.S., the U.K., France and India, and the normalization of our relations with Yugoslavia, which Stalin had spoiled. Having to cover all this in the magazine was a complete novelty for me.

These years subsequently came to be called, thanks to Ilya Ehrenburg, the "thaw." What that meant for the magazine's staff was far more work – new subject matter and new attitudes which were just as difficult. We had to learn how to cope with all that.

Being a novice, I probably found that tougher than my veteran colleagues both on the magazine and in journalism generally. They were for me and, indeed, for the en-



tire staff, on which many new faces had appeared, reliable, gifted teachers. I have preserved fond memories of Lev Leontyev, Natalya Sergeyeva, Lev Rovinsky and Lev Sheidin.

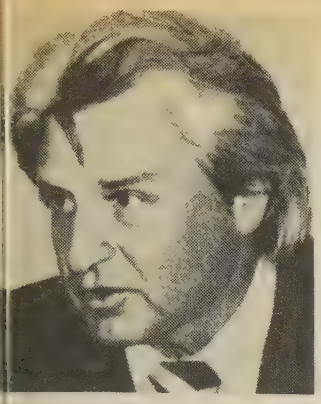
Otto Kuusinen, a former member of the magazine's editorial board, made a signal contribution at the time, and his attentive political assitance was of immense significance for all of us.

In 1960, I left the magazine and went to Prague, where I lived through a period when positive processes were inhibited. Though the "thaw" of the fifties subsequently petered out, it yielded much even during its short duration. Whenever I recall those years I note how exciting it is to work for the magazine today. The new thinking, perestroika and the new approach in foreign policy hold out vast opportunities.

The magazine has an interesting, noteworthy history and fine traditions. I am sure it will have a still more interesting and productive future.

Vadim Zagladin

First Deputy Head, CPSU Central Committee international department



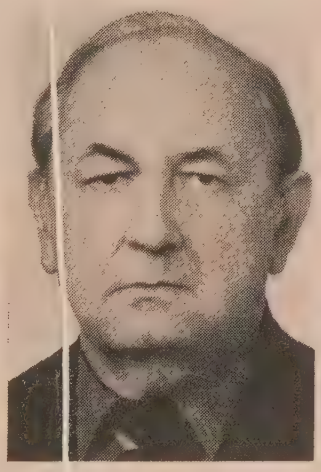
Politics, Ideology, is perhaps better known as personal interpreter to Stalin and Molotov and as an eyewitness involved in crucial diplomatic events during WW II. He spent nearly a quarter of a century on New Times, joining the staff in 1945, from the Foreign Ministry and has been by turn executive secretary and deputy editor-in-chief.

"When the war ended, we naturally wondered what to call the magazine; it could no longer be known as The War and the Working Class. We tabled our proposals and sent them to Molotov, who was responsible for our work, and he, in turn, handed our note to Stalin. We got the paper back a few days later, with all the proposed titles crossed out, and the words New Times in Stalin's own hand in the margin. At the time Lev Leontyev, a prominent economist and a corresponding member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, served as deputy editor-in-chief. I say this because then the man appointed the editor-in-chief usually had nothing to do with the magazine at all, which meant that Leontyev had to handle every aspect. People of the older generation recalled that before the revolution a newspaper called Novoye Vremya (New Times) had been published in Russia by the notorious reactionary Suvorin. Lenin had time and again taken issue with this publication. In short, as the association was an undesirable one, Leontyev phoned Stalin to try him get to change the name, but Stalin was adamant."

FROM "STAGNATION" TO RENOVATION

One fine summer's day in 1956, I stepped into the editorial offices of the magazine New Times which were then housed in Kalashny Lane in what is today the Japanese Embassy. I wanted to see my old schoolmate and fellow student Vadim Zagladin, then one of the magazine's leading staff journalists, to have a chat with him about various things before my summer holidays. Inasmuch as Vadim never likes to shirk his duties in working hours, he decided to divert my attention by giving me to read a contribution by a French writer to read, which had as its title the incontrovertible statement "Capitalism has changed." As we parted, he suggested I write a commentary on it. A fortnight later I submitted something much longer, some 40 pages or so, than the magazine usually accepted, headed "Has capitalism changed?"

I learned later that Lev Leontyev, then the magazine's editor-in-chief, had said when shown my contribution: "Your writer, of course, asserts that capitalism hasn't changed?" "Nothing of the sort," he was told, "he's written something quite different." "Well, then, I suppose it'll be worth reading," Leontyev observed. Shortly afterwards, I was given a copy of New Times featuring



my article with the pleasing ending: "To be concluded." So it took up two issues, in spite of the generally accepted word limit. After my holiday I was unexpectedly invited to join the staff as chief of the criticism and bibliography section and, subsequently, of ideology.

Incidentally, today I take a very critical view of the story I mentioned, no doubt because since then capitalism has changed "again," and evidently I have changed too.

I recall my three and a half years on New Times as one of the happiest chapters in my life. At the time we breathed in the atmosphere generated by the decisions of the 20th Congress. We were young, full of guts and felt that we were pioneering new areas in international issues. The staff was healthy and hard-hitting. It produced such Soviet journalists, well known today, as Evgeny Ambartsumov, Lev Bezymensky, Valentin Berezhkov, Gennady Gerasimov, Vadim Zagladin, Stanislav Menshikov, and Lev Sheidin. Meanwhile Natalya Sergeyeva, who assumed the office of editor-in-chief after Leontyev went, held us in check and instructed us in the craft of journalism. I must certainly put in a kind word for her "schooling," which largely helped me in future work, especially on the team of consultants to the CPSU Central Committee international department, with which I have been since 1963.

Though I may be mistaken, it seems to me that New Times also had its period of "stagnation." All the more welcome, therefore, is the present staff's vigorous striving to renew in both form and content the magazine which I so cherish. Indeed, it is a must for New Times always to steer a course for renewal.

Yuri Zhilin

Head of the team of consultants to the CPSU Central Committee international department

Evgeny Ambartsumov, who heads the general problems of world socialism department at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System has acquired a reputation both at home and abroad for his comments on burning issues of Soviet history and the "headaches" of the theory and practice of socialism.

While on New Times he was with the criticism and bibliography department. He spent a further year with the German edition. Incidentally, he also knows English, French, Italian and Czech.

"Our office was made up of highly competent journalists, from whom one could learn a lot," he recalls.

He has a particularly warm spot for Lev Sheidin, whom he esteems as his journalistic "godfather."

Subsequently, he joined the Institute of World Economics and International Relations, spending three years there researching Italy's domestic policies. He also worked for World Marxist Review and for the Institute of the International Working-Class Movement.

For some years now, he has been handling general problems of socialism and aspects of ideology and domestic policy in the socialist countries; at any rate for the time being he has no intention of again changing his preferences.

The 21st-century car

What have electronics in store for motorists?

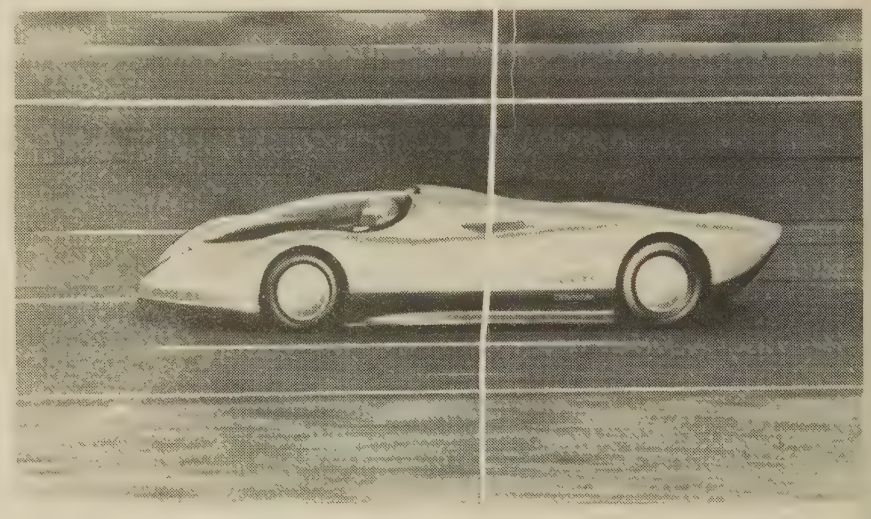
"I've been covering international car salons for twenty years, and seen thousands of modern cars but I am still nostalgic for old models," Lois Fevr, a leading journalist on the Revue Automobile weekly, told me. In that particular case I could understand him, for we stood before an exposition featuring the Dusenberg cars famous in the twenties. Seeking to promote the sales of its tobacco "smokes" – which, like liquor, are steadily losing popularity the world over – the Philip Morris company stinted no expenses on publicity. For the Geneva automobile salon it rented the seven best Dusenberg models from millionaires' private collections. Resplendent in chrome, copper and nickel, the huge and powerful limousines (with engine ratings of over 300 hp) are truly impressive. "No more than 300 of these cars have survived in private collections and in some museums. Profiteers thrive on them – a Dusie fetches one to four million dollars," Fevr told me.

I asked Fevr if he would care to join me in viewing modern cars. "Sorry," he said. "I'd rather feast my eyes on the Dusies. As compared with them, all modern cars are just runabouts stuffed with electronic gadgetry." (He said "banioles," French slang for "car.") Among the "features" of this year's Geneva autosalon, there were more new models than ever. Forty of the 1,200 various car makes from 30 countries exhibited in Palexpo, one of Europe's largest exhibition halls, were new designs. They included a Jaguar with a 12-cylinder engine, a Mazda-121 compact, a Galant limousine from the Mitsubishi Co. with a new-type multivalve engine, a Bluebird from Nissan with a two-litre engine and a new-look body, three new Opel models – the Kadet-GSI, the Senator and the Omega-Caravan. All the models on show at Palexpo are already in commercial production, and you can buy any of them then and there, with your purchase to be delivered to any address and at your convenience.

Also on display at the autosalon were prototype models still undergoing trials. As a rule, the exact dates for putting such cars into quantity production are not set – they fall into the "cars of the future" category. Our own Ohta is among them. Visitors who keep abreast of progress in automaking asked Ernest Cochan, General Director of SARES, the importer of Soviet cars to Switzerland, who looked after our display of Ladas and Nivas, whether the name of the car was spelt right. They knew that the Oka model was coming, but the name Ohta did not sound quite right. In fact, there was no mistake: the streamlined compact car of carbon filled plastic, with outwardly dark, almost black glazing, did bear the name of Ohta. It had five doors and seven seats – with two extra seats fitted into the space ordinarily given over to the "boot." Ernest Cochan said that the car's futuristic design and body styling had been created in Leningrad, and the model as such developed by Moscow's NAMI Automotive Institute. Employing the engine and the chassis of the VAZ Sputnik model, the Ohta is 429 cm long, 173 cm wide and 153 cm high, and weighs 960 kg. The car drew quite a crowd of visitors, who liked the unusual look of it and asked Cochan how much it cost and when it would come on the market.

Recalling my acquaintance's remark about "electronic gadgetry," I decided to proceed to the exhibition of "electronic stuffing" for modern cars. There turned out to be so many electronic innovations that I shall only be able to mention just those of them that struck me as being of special interest.

"Electronic equipment is so perfect that a car can be turned, at will, into a laboratory on wheels," I.Zidler, a guide with the company Blaupunkt, told me, as he showed me around the display. "For instance, you can fit your car with a radar which will show you, in dense fog, the precise distance between you and the vehicles running behind you, and ahead of you; you can take your car's exact bearings with the aid of a satellite; any information – from the air pressure in each tyre to outside temperature and humidity – can be obtained from special sensors in visual form on a display screen at any time. All this electronic equipment is quite expensive, and may even double the cost of a car. Adjusting this equipment also costs a pretty penny."



At my request, he demonstrated what he considered the more "useful" Blaupunkt products intended for motorists

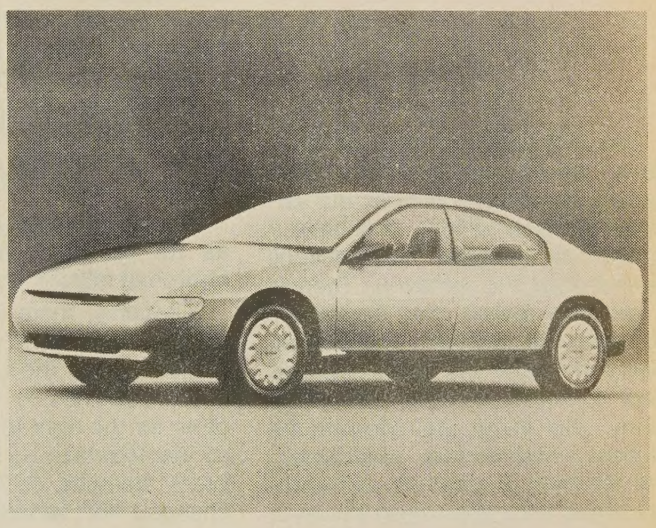
with a penchant for electronic gadgets," as he put it. He led me to a car which looked no different from the other ones on display. On closer inspection, however, I saw a postcard-sized TV-like screen fitted into the dashboard to the driver's right. Called a "travel pilot," the instrument helps the driver find his way in city streets. As he drives into a strange city, the driver takes a compact video disc with the name of the city on it and inserts it in a reader. An exact map of the city appears on the screen, with your car showing on it as a bright spot. Another, blinking," spot serves as a reference point. The scale of the picture can be changed at a push of a button. If necessary, you can get the chart of even a small sidestreet you have strayed into by mistake. Zidler told me that next year about 60 such video maps of large cities with population of over 100, 000) will be

in the cabin perfectly pure. A micro-computer controlling such a system cleans the air even of certain bacteria and maintains the air temperature and humidity set by the driver. The Renault, Citroen, Audi and some other cars can be fitted with micro-computers at the buyer's request. A turn of the ignition key will switch on a visual display screen on the dashboard which tells the motorist how far his fuel will take him at average speed, and indicates air temperature in and outside the cabin, the condition of the storage battery, oil level and pressure, and the state of the braking and cooling systems. If necessary, the mini-computer may be set to ensure the observance of the permitted speed limit, and it will take care of that; the motorist will be spared fines for speeding.

The comfort-minded Mazda company of Japan has provided for an electronic

distance to the car ahead of yours, matches this data against your travel speed, car weight, weather conditions and other parameters, and will warn you by audio and visual signals to slow down if it "comes to the conclusion" that the emergency braking path might prove too long. The doors of the Taurus car by Ford are opened not with a key, but by a command given through a special micro-transmitter. Instead of the conventional instrument dials, the dashboard features a visual display screen of the on-board mini-computer which can give the motorist any information on the state of his car.

Some motor companies (Mercedes, Ford and others) equip their cars with improved electronic systems for ignition and fuel supply control. A micro-computer "keeps an eye" on every cylinder, and intervenes whenever it is necessary to



in sale in the F.R.G. At the moment, the choice of such discs is limited to eight. By 1990, the Travel Pilot system is to come into use in all West European countries. For the moment, the gadget is expensive – it costs six thousand dollars.

Blaupunkt and other Western companies specializing in car electronics offer compact (book-sized) stereo players which take floppy discs. The sound track is read by means of a laser, so even a jolty ride has no effect on playback quality. Motorists are offered FM/SW radios capable of tuning in automatically to radio stations that transmit information on the road situation ahead.

The Swedish motor company SAAB has equipped some of its car models with ventillation systems that keep the air

front and rear shock-absorber cushioning control for a smooth ride along even a rugged road. External rear-view mirrors and glass lifts are adjusted for position by means of tiny electric motors, and front seats are heated in cool seasons. The Nissan ARC-X model is equipped with a mini-computer which memorizes the driving habits of its driver. Data on desirable driving seat height, back-tilt angle, distance to the steering column, steering wheel (which is adjustable) and mirror positions are fed into the computer's memory in a definite code. As soon as you dial the code on a keyboard, the computer will make all the adjustments you've "ordered" automatically; this is especially convenient when a car is used by more than one member of a family. The model features another useful innovation. A built-in radar determines the

adjust the ignition system and improve the mixture (separately for each cylinder). This considerably lengthens the engine's life and adds to its reliability.

We do not promise motorists an "electronic paradise," say representatives of the leading Western automaking companies who introduce their products in Geneva. Electronics are rather vulnerable and not guaranteed against breakdowns, they admit; nevertheless, the car of the 21st century will be stuffed with more and more electronic devices intended to enhance motoring comfort and safety.

YURI KOSINSKY

Geneva

Aeroflot earns hard currency

The Irish shamrock against the Kremlin clock tower is the emblem of Aerofirst, the first joint venture of Aeroflot. Below, we interview Boris Krivchenko, the airline's joint ventures manager.

"Aeroflot is often criticized these days," said Boris Krivchenko. "Our people travel more and use the services of other airlines and have a chance to compare. Comparisons are not always in our favour. There is a growing feeling that Aeroflot is somehow second-rate – service on board the plane and at the airport is poor, the interiors of the planes and many other things are not up to the highest international standards... We are short of currency, and Aeroflot needs to be able to pay its way in currency.

"How did we attract passengers yesterday? There was only one way: by lowering fares – Aeroflot is becoming the world's cheapest airline. Accordingly, we had to increase the volume of passenger traffic – we lead the world on that. But we now find that we simply cannot go on as before. To reach world standards, we must invest money in the airline. Aerofirst will offer us such an opportunity. We have opened a duty-free shop for transit passengers at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-2 International Airport. Its chief attractions are a wide choice of first-class goods at low prices. What is duty-free trade? The goods are bought from producers without any intermediaries or government tax. For this reason, the difference between buying and selling prices is considerable. In the first year alone, we expect a profit of 2 million dollars, and in time the figure will be much higher. The shop has been built by our Irish partners, and is now manned by fifty Aer Rianta personnel, who are instructing Soviet personnel. Of course, it's not the shop itself that is the most important thing, although passengers find it very attractive. The main thing is that it will help earn currency to renovate our technology, to bring it into conformity with the needs of Sheremetyevo Airport."

Why did Aeroflot choose Ireland as its partner? Was there any choice at all?

"Certainly, there was a choice – some of the world's leading companies – from the U.S., Japan and other countries – vied with each other for the right to cooperate with us. Aer Rianta is our partner of many years' standing. Soviet air fuel is exchanged for services at Shannon Airport, the biggest in Ireland. Every year Soviet planes make more than a thousand refuelling stops at Shannon. Moreover, Aer Rianta has forty years of experience in organizing duty-free shops. The idea of duty-free shops originated in Ireland, and has spread all over the world, including the socialist countries.

"But there was another major reason. Many companies wanted to open a shop here, mainly because it would bring considerable returns on a small investment. But only the Irish agreed to reinvest into priority areas of Aeroflot's development."

Are you planning to expand contacts?

"We hope to create a whole free-trade zone. It will comprise not only shops (we'll have them at air terminals in Leningrad, Kiev, Yalta and Tashkent), but joint factories to manufacture airport furniture, disposable plates and packaging, and household goods. Some Irish companies are going to follow Aer Rianta's example: the Dublin Modern Display Artists is discussing a joint venture with Vneshtorgreklama. Aeroflot will increase the number of flights via Shannon."

Will Aerofirst make any difference to the quality of internal flights?

"The same planes that fly abroad are used on internal flights, for example, to Irkutsk and Khabarovsk. They will have improved interiors, passenger comfort and service. The hotel now being renovated at Sheremetyevo will be open to passengers who pay in rubles, too. We are planning to build another hotel.

"Aerofirst is going to develop anti-icing equipment for airliners, which will make flights in winter blizzards safer. The technology of anti-ice treatment is pollution-free. This is still rare.

"We are going to open a branch in Shannon where we shall repaint Soviet planes with a new substance that will make the planes fly faster and save fuel. So far, we have been unable to do this on our own. In Shannon alone, Aeroflot uses 15,000 tons of fuel a year, of which 300 tons will be saved. That means half a million dollars.

"We are convinced that all the new and progressive techniques – computerization of ground services, know-how in organizing transportation and many other things that Aerofirst will bring with it – will be adopted on all our airlines.

Interviewed by
TATIANA CHERNOVA

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